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A HISTORY OF THE
ANCIENT WORLD



A PORTION OF THE PARTHENON AND ITS FRIEZE

A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

FOR HIGH SCHOOLS AND
ACADEMIES

BY

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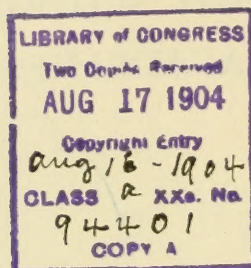
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, AND PLANS

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1904

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TROW DIRECTORY
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To
F. M. G.

TO WHOSE COURAGE, FAITH, AND PRACTICAL
HELP IN A DARK YEAR, THIS VOLUME
BEARS ABUNDANT WITNESS

P R E F A C E

This volume owes much to a wide variety of helpers. Doubtless, what may be original in it is of least value. Accordingly, the author wishes, first of all, to make general confession of having drawn upon any stores of pedagogical wisdom and any treasures of scholarship which seemed to contribute to his subject. In particular, however, special acknowledgments are due to some who have given personal assistance in the preparation of the book. Professors F. B. Tarbell and Gordon J. Laing, of the University of Chicago, have made helpful suggestions regarding the illustrations. Frances Ada Knox, Assistant in History in the University of Chicago, has given important aid in the preparation of the manuscript and in other ways. The maps, charts, and plans have had the skilful and scholarly attention of Mr. Harold H. Nelson, now of the Syrian Protestant College, of Beyrout. The book has also profited from the suggestions of a number of teachers in East and West who have read it in whole or in part. Nor should the share of the publishers be forgotten, whose warm interest and generous co-operation have made work with them a pleasure. If the book succeeds in serving the cause of sound historical learning in high-schools and academies, their share in making this possible is no small one.

G. S. G.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
May, 1904.

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

The usefulness of this book will depend largely on the teacher, and hence one or two suggestions rising out of the purpose and method of the author may not be amiss.

1. The grand divisions into which the book falls are those determined by the course of historical progress. Each one of these divisions is introduced by a "Preliminary Survey" of the ground to be covered in the period. It seems theoretically desirable and pedagogically useful to give the pupil beforehand a bird's-eye view of the chief stations along the pathway which he is later to travel step by step. But it is suggested that the teacher take up this Survey with the pupil, read and expound it to him, rather than assign it as a task to be learned without the previous preparation that explanation by the teacher would give.

2. The "Helps" which follow the several divisions are, perhaps, more elaborate than is usual in books of this kind, and therefore may need some explanation. In the material that follows each lesser division (*e.g.*, on pp. 27-28) the design is to afford the pupil several ways of reviewing the text of that division. Thus (1) An "Outline for Review," arranged in a suggestive and natural order, enables him to run over in mind the details of the division in its historical progress; (2) a series of "Review Topics" gives opportunity for memory work, by suggesting a fact, a name, a salient date, for testing his knowledge in par-

ticalars; (3) what are called "Comparative Studies" are intended to test recollection of previous periods as well as reasoning powers by comparison of significant points in earlier and later studies; (4) a series of "Topics for Reading and Oral Report" makes it possible to read intelligently in a few other works of moderate size on suggested topics and, if desired, to report upon this reading informally in class; (5) a few subjects are suggested in which the illustrations may be used to supplement the history, or map exercises are set.

It is, of course, evident that the purpose of these "Helps" is to provide something usable by all classes of pupils and to touch on more than one side of the pupil's preparation of his task.

At the end of the grand divisions (*e.g.*, after Part I), "Helps" for reviewing the entire Part are suggested. These consist of a series of (1) "Topics for Class Discussion," which embrace subjects which run through the entire epoch and to which references to pertinent sections are given, and (2) "Subjects for Written Papers," with a somewhat wide selection of references to literature. These can be assigned early in the study of the epoch or required at the close of the course.

3. Fuller directions and suggestions for using this book, with additional material for the use of teachers, have been prepared by Miss Frances Ada Knox, of the University of Chicago, in collaboration with the author, and may be obtained from the publishers.

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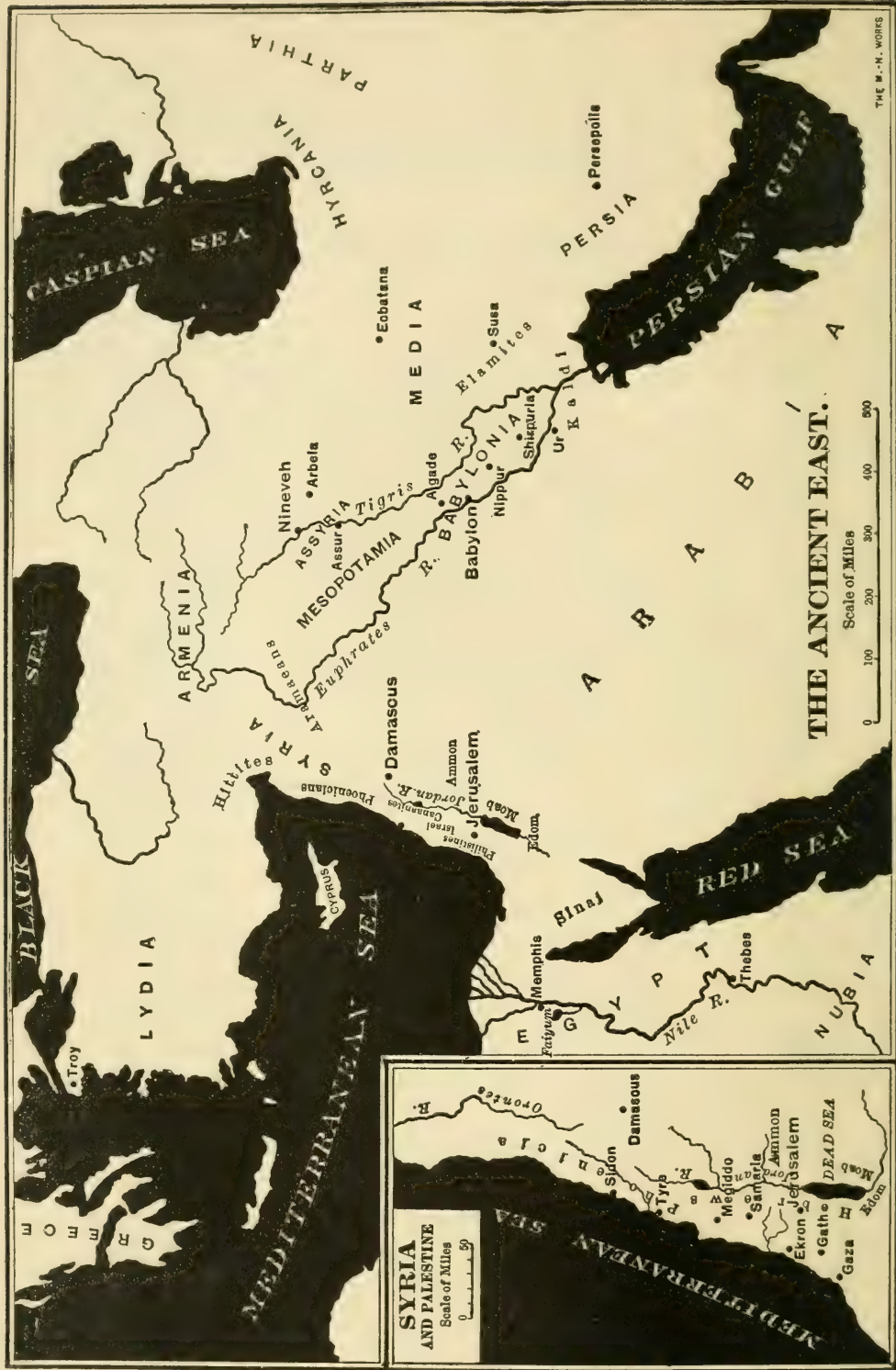
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A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

INTRODUCTORY

1. We are to study the history of the Ancient World. To study history is to trace out the growth of human beings organized into a society with government, laws, literature and religion. History is like a tree, with roots, stem, sap, bark, branches and leaves, all joined together, all having a common life, all growing as the tree grows. With the ancient world we begin at the roots of the tree of human history, of which the modern world is the trunk and its various peoples the branches.

History
a
Growth.

2. The value of studying ancient history comes from the fact just mentioned. It is the root of that history of which we form a part. If the peoples of old had not learned how to form states and establish laws for the conduct of social life, we should not enjoy the order and prosperity of to-day. As a son inherits the property of his father, so we inherit the ideas and forms of government and society of our historic ancestors. We have made many improvements and additions to what they gave us, but we could not have done so if they had not originally made us their heirs. Hence, to understand our times, it is necessary to know the history of the past, and especially that earliest

Ancient
History
the
Starting-
point.

past in which men began to lay those foundations on which modern life is built.

A Return to
History's
Beginning.

3. Let us suppose a traveller making a journey from our own country back through the centuries to the beginning of history. He sails over the Atlantic to England, thence crosses to the continent of Europe; he passes through Germany and France on his way southward into Italy, where his objective point is the city of Rome. There he delays to study the monuments commemorating the conquests, the laws and the rulers of the wide and well-ordered world that, for so many centuries, centred in Rome. Then he takes up his course to the east over the Mediterranean sea to Greece, breaking his journey for a season to enjoy the air of freedom, and to revel in the art and literature, of Athens. Still he travels eastward, taking ship for the coasts of Asia Minor, and thence making a longer sea-voyage southward across the Mediterranean to the valley of the Nile. There he admires the marvellous achievements of the Egyptians at Memphis and Thebes. But he has yet another stage of travel. Passing northward along the eastern shore of the sea, he tarries awhile at Jerusalem, where the world's chief religion, Christianity, was born, pushes on to Damascus, Syria's ancient commercial centre, and then strikes eastward to the broad river, Euphrates. Crossing this, he moves on under the shadow of the northern mountains through the fertile upper Mesopotamian valley to the deep and rapid Tigris river, on whose banks stands Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian Empire. Thence by raft he glides down the stream until, near its junction with the Euphrates, he disembarks upon the rich soil of Babylonia, and wonders at the strange, yet somehow not unfamiliar, life that

grets him. In the markets and temples of Babylon his long pilgrimage is ended. He stands at the cradle of human civilization; he is in the dawn of human history.

4. Of this long line of countries and of centuries, those which belong to the Ancient World first greet us on coming to Rome. As we enter the Church of St. Peter, we behold the scene of the event that brought Ancient History to an end, for here Charlemagne, King of the Franks, was crowned Roman Emperor on Christmas Day in the year of our Lord 800. Between that event and the earliest organized society in the lower valley of the Euphrates and Tigris in the fifth millennium before Christ (5000 B.C.) lies Ancient History—a period, if measured by years, at least three-fourths of the entire length of the history of mankind. From the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile, civilization passed through the regions of the eastern Mediterranean and Asia Minor to Greece; Greece received and improved upon the eastern civilization and taught Rome the secrets of her power and progress; Rome, her native vigor refined and guided by Greek civilization, became the mistress of the world, the source of order and progress to a wider circle of peoples gathered under her sway. When, her task accomplished, Rome handed over the world to Charlemagne, who represents the fresh and vigorous Teutonic stock of western Europe, the history of the Ancient World was completed. Thus the Eastern Nations, Greece and Rome, the first three links of the chain of history that binds the world together, are the subject of our study. The movement of history was steadily from east to west; the world grew ever larger; yet constantly the widening world was more and more united in

The
Course of
Ancient
History.

the possession of a common culture and at last became one under the universal government of Rome.

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Each of these three general histories has its special excellencies and defects. They will be constantly referred to in the coming pages.

* A bibliography for advanced students and teachers will be found in Appendix I.

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRES

TO 500 B.C.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

5. The earliest seats of ancient civilization are found in Egypt and Babylonia. Egypt lies in the lower valley of the river Nile; Babylonia in the lowland where the rivers Tigris and Euphrates unite to flow into the Persian gulf. Both these river-systems have their sources in high mountain regions. At regular periods in the spring of each year, their waters are swollen by the melting snows, or winter rains. These floods pour over the plain and carry with them masses of earth which they deposit along the banks and at the mouths of the rivers. Thus in the course of time they have piled up layers of soil which, regularly irrigated by the overflowing waters, are marvellously fertile. Between the Nile valley and the Tigris-Euphrates basin direct communication is cut off by the Arabian desert; the upper Euphrates, however, bending westward, connects the Tigris-Euphrates basin with the series of fertile valleys and plateaus made by the mountain ranges which run from north to south, parallel with the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Thus this middle region, known in general as Syria, is the connecting link between the two river-systems, since its southern boundary is separated from the Nile valley only by a comparatively narrow stretch of sandy desert.

The Field
of
Oriental
History.

Its
Physical
Unity.

6. Looking at the whole region thus bound together, we observe that it has somewhat the character of a crescent. The two extremities are the lands at the mouths of the two river-systems—Egypt and Babylonia. The upper central portion is called Mesopotamia. The outer border consists of mountain ranges which pass from the Persian gulf northward and westward until they touch the northeast corner of the Mediterranean, from which point the boundary is continued by the sea itself. The inner side is made by the desert of Arabia. The crescent-shaped stretch of country thus formed is the field of the history of the ancient Eastern World. It consisted of two primitive centres of historic life connected by a strip of habitable land of varying width.

Its
Peoples.

7. The inhabitants of this region were peoples who spoke dialects of a common language. Most of them are named in the book of Genesis as descended from Shem (Sem), the son of Noah. The accepted name for them, therefore, is the "Semitic" peoples, and the languages they spoke are called the "Semitic" languages.

Their
Distribu-
tion.

8. The original home of the primitive Semites was probably northern Arabia. From here when the scanty sustenance afforded by the desert could not supply their needs, they poured out on every side into the fertile valleys that bordered upon their home. Thus, from this natural centre they went forth into the lower Tigris-Euphrates valley to form the civilization which we know as the Babylonian; farther to the north, on the upper Tigris, they became the Assyrians; roaming back and forth in the wide regions between the upper Euphrates and Tigris, they were known as the Arameans; farther to the west, in the region bordering on the Mediterranean, they formed

communities known as the Canaanites, the Phœnicians and the Hebrews. The Hebrews further divide into the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites and Israelites. Pushing on to the south and southwest, some of them made their homes on the fertile coasts of southern Arabia. Others passed over into the Nile valley and made up the most important element of the peoples who settled in Egypt. To the Semites are due the development and extension of political and social institutions throughout this entire region.

9. Occupying the upper valleys and plateaus of the northern mountain ranges that border the crescent of this Semitic world was a variety of tribes and peoples without unity of language or civilization. From time to time they fell upon the Semites of the river-valleys and established their authority more or less permanently and extensively over them. Such were the Elamites occupying the high table-lands to the east of Babylonia, and the Khati or Hittites, whose original home was in the mountains to the northwest of the upper waters of the Euphrates. From the same mountain regions came, toward the close of the history of the Ancient East, the Medo-Persians, a branch of the family to which the historical peoples of western Europe and North America belong—the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic race.* They had their home in the lofty plateaus far to the east of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Thence by slow degrees they pushed westward until, de-

The
Surround-
ing
Peoples.

* This race-family, clearly distinguished from the Semitic (§ 7) by language, comprised peoples whose homes were as far distant from one another as India and England. Its chief branches were the people of India, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Teutons, the Kelts, and the Slavs.

scending upon the plains, they absorbed the ancient Semitic civilization and established the Persian Empire.

Course of
Historical
Progress.

10. Before entering upon the history of these peoples in detail it will be profitable to take a general survey of the field to be studied and to mark out its grand divisions and epochs.*

1. Begin-
nings.

History begins at the extremes of the field in the two primitive centres of civilization, Babylonia and Egypt. For long periods (about 5000–2500 B.C.) each grows by itself, each produces a unique civilization having its own peculiarities of language, race, political organization, social life and religion.

2. Baby-
lonian and
Egyptian
Empires.

In course of time each, driven by the impulse of expansion, pushes out into the region lying between them—the land of Syria (2500–1100 B.C.). Babylonia is first in the field, and makes her influence felt for centuries in Syria (down to 1600 B.C.); but, weakened by the rise of the Assyrian kings in the north and by foreign wars and the invasion of strangers, her power declines. The way is open for Egypt to occupy the field. She conquers Syria, plants her garrisons throughout its borders and establishes her civilization in its cities (1600–1100 B.C.).

3. Em-
pires of
Syria.

But Egypt, also, in course of time declines in power. Migrations of strange peoples sweep over these Syrian plains. The Hittite (Khathi) people from the north press forward and drive the armies of Egypt back, only to be themselves followed by other northern tribes. For two centuries Syria is free from the authority of either of the

* This section may most profitably be read together by teacher and pupil, the teacher emphasizing and expounding the great epochs of the history, which are here set forth in the barest outline, preparatory to their intensive study.

two great oriental powers (1100–900 B.C.). It is now the opportunity of native princes and peoples of Palestine and Syria to assert themselves. On the Mediterranean coast appear the city-states of the Philistines in the south, and in the north the kingdom of Tyre, which gathers under its sway all Phœnicia, the centre of the commerce of the ancient world. In the southeast the kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon unites the tribes of the southern plateau (Palestine) under a single sceptre.

But this period of Syrian independence does not last. The kingdom of Assyria in the far east on the upper Tigris rises into greater power, and moves out to seize the western lands. For three centuries (900–600 B.C.) its armies push up and down, north, south and west, and it becomes the first great World-Empire.

4. Assyrian Empire.

But, weakened by internal decay and assailed by rising enemies, it, too, falls. Its Empire is divided between its conquerors, the Medes on the east and the Babylonians (or Kaldeans) on the south. But these two powers contend with each other for final supremacy (600–538 B.C.). New Babylonia (or Kaldea) is no match for the vigorous and warlike Medes, united with the Persians, led by Cyrus the Great.

5. New Babylonian and Median Empires.

Babylon, the capital of Kaldea, falls before the Persian power. All its possessions pass into the hands of Cyrus. He founds the second great World-Empire, Persia (538–325 B.C.). This Empire, expanding on all sides, comes face to face with the Greek cities of Europe. In its struggle with them a new motive and new peoples enter into the sphere of history; the career of the Ancient East is finished.

6. Persian Empire.

Grand
Divisions.

II. The grand divisions of this long development are, therefore, the following:

1. The First Kingdoms in Babylonia and Egypt (to 2500 B.C.).
2. The Babylonian and Egyptian Empires (2500–1100 B.C.).
3. The Empires of Syria (1100–900 B.C.).
4. The World-Empire of Assyria (900–600 B.C.).
5. The New Babylonian (Kaldean) and Median Empires (600–538 B.C.).
6. The World-Empire of Persia (538–325 B.C.).

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* An additional bibliography for advanced students and teachers will be found in Appendix I.



Hammurabi



Rameses II



Esarhaddon



A Syrian



A Philistine



A Hittite

TYPICAL ORIENTAL HEADS

1.—THE FIRST KINGDOMS IN BABYLONIA AND EGYPT

ABOUT 5000-2500 B.C.

12. The darkness that covers the beginnings of man's life on the earth lifts from the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers about five thousand years before the birth of Christ. More than a thousand years later we catch our first glimpse of history in the Nile valley. An unexpected sight greets us in the dawning light. Men are not savages wandering about and plundering, but have fixed homes and live in cities ruled over by kings who make laws, lead armies and worship the divine powers in splendid temples.

Beginnings
of
History

13. In Babylonia the chief cities were Shirpurla, Ur,* Nippur, Agade and Babylon. Nippur was the leading religious centre where stood a famous temple to the god Bel. The others were the seats of kingdoms, whose kings fought with one another for supremacy over the whole region. For thousands of years this struggle went on, no city being able permanently to hold all power. One of the greatest of these early rulers was Sargon, king of Agade (about 3800 B.C.). Some memorials of his reign tell us of his wide power.

Movement
toward
Unity in
Babylonia

An interesting account of Sargon's early life has come down to us in his own words: "Sargon, the powerful king, am I. My mother was of low degree, my father I did not know. The brother of my father dwelt in the mountain. My city was Azupirani, situated on the bank of the Euphrates. (My) humble mother in secret brought me

Sargon's
Autobi-
ography.

* The *u* in all these words is pronounced like *oo*.

forth. She placed me in a basket-boat of rushes, with pitch she closed my door. She gave me over to the river, which did not (rise) over me. The river bore me along; to Akki, the irrigator, it carried me. Akki, the irrigator, brought me to land. Akki, the irrigator, reared me as his own son. Akki, the irrigator, appointed me his gardener. While I was gardener, the goddess Ishtar looked on me with love (and) . . . four years I ruled the kingdom."

The King-
dom of
Babylon.

14. Finally from the eastern mountains the Elamites (§ 9) came down and took possession of the southern cities; about the same time some Arabian kings seized the northern city of Babylon. The two invaders fought each other, and the kings of Babylon drove out the Elamites and got possession of the whole country. Thus a strong and permanent state was founded with its capital at Babylon. On this account the lower valley of the Euphrates and Tigris is called Babylonia.

The
Egyptian
Kingdom.

The
Fourth
Dynasty.

15. Not later than 3500 B.C. the people of the Nile valley were organized into one state with its capital at Memphis, and were ruled over by great kings whose official title was the "Pharaoh."* In this early period the most important dynasty was the fourth (2700 B.C.). Its kings left their inscriptions on the cliffs of the peninsula of Sinai, east of Egypt. There one of them is pictured in the act of striking down an enemy with his mace. Another remarkable memorial of them is the mighty Pyramids, the wonder and admiration of travellers in all ages. In the time of the sixth dynasty, commerce with the rich lands of central Africa was flourishing. Sea-voyages, the first that history records, were made upon the Red sea.

* An Egyptian historian named Manetho, writing in Greek, has left a list of the Pharaohs organized in thirty-one successive groups called by him "dynasties"—a most convenient arrangement followed by all later historians.

Yet the crowning achievement of these kings was their successful rule of the state with its loyal and devoted officials and its contented and prosperous people. From all parts of the realm nobles came to live in Memphis, the king's seat, and to serve him. When they died, they desired above all else to be buried near his tomb.

Centralized
Govern-
ment.

16. Egypt was also very prosperous under the twelfth dynasty (2000-1800 B.C.). A thousand years had passed and many changes had taken place. Princes of Thebes were on the throne, and the capital of the state was removed farther to the south. The nobles no longer flocked to the court, but preferred to dwell on their own domains. They recognized the Pharaoh's authority and did his bidding, but lived and died and were buried at home. The following utterance of one of them is an evidence of their authority as well as of the character of their rule:

The
Twelfth
Dynasty

"No daughter of a citizen have I injured, no widow have I molested, no laborer have I arrested, no shepherd have I banished, no superintendent of workmen was there whose laborers have I taken away from their work. In my time there were no poor, and none were hungry in my day. When the years of famine came I ploughed all the fields of the nome* from the southern to the northern boundary; I kept the inhabitants alive and gave them food, so that not one was hungry. I gave to the widow even as to her who had a husband, and I never preferred the great to the small."

A
Prince's
Boast.

17. Such relations of king and nobles we call *feudal*, and the twelfth dynasty is the first example of feudal government in history. Rulers in such circumstances have to be able and active to keep the nobles obedient. The Pharaohs of this dynasty were equal to the task. They extended the

Feudalism
in Egypt.

*The "nome" is one of the forty or more districts into which Egypt was divided from the earliest times.

state up the Nile by the conquest of Nubia, the quartz mines of which yielded much gold. A series of successful engineering works on the lower Nile, by which a marshy district in the west, now called the Faiyum, was drained, added a wide and fertile tract to the kingdom. The Pharaohs of this dynasty adorned it with palaces and temples and lived in it or on its border. One of these structures was so elaborate that it was called by Herodotus, the Greek historian and traveller, a "labyrinth," and in his judgment it surpassed the Pyramids.

Social
Life in
these
Early
Days.

18. In that far-off period when the primitive inhabitants settled in the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile basins, the first and easiest things they found to do were the raising of cattle and the growing of grain. The wonderfully rich and well-watered soil produced for man and beast all kinds of plants for food. The cattle could be pastured in the luxuriant marshes by the river-banks. Seed sown in moist spots produced wonderful harvests, sometimes two hundred-fold and more. Soon a system of canals, dykes and reservoirs was created to distribute the inundating waters. By this means larger tracts of land were obtained for cultivation, until the entire valley was one vast garden. The majority of the people were farmers; the chief products of the lands were cattle and grain. The regular yearly inundations of the rivers kept the land fertile, and the bountiful soil continued from generation to generation to pour its wealth into the arms of the cultivators. Its abundant products not merely supplied their needs, but furnished a surplus which they could store away or sell to other peoples less favored. It was this surplus that made the nations in these river-valleys rich and gave them their commanding position in the ancient world.

Agriculture
the
Chief Occupation.

19. These lands were also the earliest seats of industry. Industry.
The records show that already there were carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, leather workers, potters, dyers, masons, miners, vintners, jewellers, and brickmakers. Each trade appears to have been organized as a guild or union with a chief officer. Egypt was specially famous for its wonderfully fine white linen; Babylonia for its woollens woven into cloths and rugs of various colors. Papyrus,* a tall reed growing in profusion in the Nile, was used by the Egyptians to make mats, rope, sandals, boats and writing material. Long strips of it were laid crosswise, pressed together and the surfaces polished off to make a rude kind of paper. The most important industry of the Babylonians was brickmaking. Stone was hard to get and clay was abundant. Hence all Babylonian buildings were of brick. Clay was the chief writing material of Babylonia. It was moulded, when soft, into cakes; into these the characters were pressed with a tool, and then the cakes were dried in the sun or in a kiln. One of their months, corresponding to our June, had a name which meant "the month of bricks," because it was the best time of the year for brickmaking.

20. Trading was another activity of these peoples. Commerce
and Trade.
The Egyptians traded chiefly among their own people up and down the Nile. Yet sea-voyages also were undertaken from an early period. They obtained ivory, incense and spices, ostrich feathers and panther skins from the far south. They delighted also in strange animals, and made a specialty of importing apes and monkeys. But it was the Babylonians who were the chief traders. They extended their commercial operations throughout the ancient

* From this word our "paper" is derived.

eastern world. Having no stone and little wood in their own land they imported them. Cedar was brought from the Mediterranean coast, teak from India; stone came from the eastern mountains and even from western Arabia. They got gold and silver from the east in exchange for their grain and cloth. Their merchants ventured into the borders of distant countries with their wares, and carried thither knowledge of the Babylonian civilization.

Organiza-
tion of
Society.

The King.

The
nobility.

21. Men engaged in so many varied pursuits would very early be organized into communities. We have already said that our first glimpse of these peoples finds them living in city-states. The head of the state was the king. He seems to have been first a priest, occupied with religious duties, and to have risen from the priesthood to the kingship. He was closest to the gods, and in Egypt was regarded as divine and called "the good god." Hence his power was supreme and absolute; he had "divine right." Obedience to him was the first duty of his subjects. But he must also be the benefactor of his people. He was the one who hunted and killed the wild animals that preyed upon the land; he led his people in war against their enemies. He was the source of law and the fountain of justice. Any subject could appeal to him for deliverance. Next, but far below him, came the nobility. The greatest noble in Egypt must fall on his face and "snuff the ground" before the king; the highest honor was to be called the king's "friend." The land had been divided among the nobles by the king, the sole owner; they held it at his will and paid him tribute and military service in return. They were his counsellors and assistants in government, the governors, the judges and the generals of the army. Often they lived on their own estates in fine

palaces surrounded by gardens; they ruled over their dependants as the king over the state. There was always danger that some one among them would become strong enough to aspire to the throne and rebel against his lord. The kingship was too glittering a prize not to attract an ambitious noble. Hence the king had to be strong and watchful.

22. The common people played no part in public life, and it is hard to discover and to describe their place in this ancient world. Probably very few of them owned land. That belonged to the king and nobles, who rented it out to tenant farmers. The latter cultivated the land by means of free laborers or slaves, and usually paid one-third of the yearly crop as rent to the proprietor. Slaves were not very numerous in this early period and were well treated. In Babylonia most slaves were the property of the temples and were hired out by the priests to the farmers, who had to care for them if sick or injured; the free hired laborers had to look out for themselves.

23. The artisans and tradesmen were not very highly regarded by the upper classes, but their growing wealth gave them increasing importance in the cities where they naturally gathered. Babylonian merchants began early to form an important class. Some trading families carried on mercantile operations from generation to generation, amassed riches, and engaged in banking. At first all trade was in natural products; cattle were exchanged for wheat or dates. But standards of value began to be set up by the use of the precious metals. They were fashioned in bars or rings and went by weight. In Babylonia the standard was the *shekel* of half an ounce avoirdupois; sixty of these made a *mina*, and sixty minas a *talent*. In Egypt

The People

Slaves.

Merchants

Means of
Exchange.

the *deben*, weighing three and a quarter ounces, was the standard. In those days silver was more precious than gold, and copper was the commonest metal. Iron was rarer. It was possible to estimate the value of natural products in these standards, and thus mercantile operations on a much greater scale could be engaged in. Soon the Babylonian merchants began to make loans, usually at a high rate of interest. Their security was often the person or family of the borrower, who were ruthlessly seized and sold as slaves if payment was not made. Thus the merchant came to be more and more a power in the ancient world.

Supremacy
of Law.

24. One of the most wonderful things about this early world is that all these various activities of ancient life were firmly established on a basis of law. The chief reason for the organization and continuance of the state was that it secured justice for its members. Not violence but order was the rule. The symbol of rank was the staff, not the sword. The highest official in Egypt under the Pharaoh was the Chief Justice. The Babylonians were particularly given to legal forms. When one sold his grain, or hired a laborer, or made a will, or married a wife, or adopted a son, he went before the judge, and a document recording the transaction was written out and signed by the contracting parties in his presence. The document was then filed away in the public archives. In the case of a dispute arbitrators were employed or the matter was brought before the court. The opposing parties were sworn, and after the case was heard, a written verdict was rendered and accepted by the disputants, or an appeal was made to a higher tribunal. Thousands of these legal documents, decisions, bills, drafts, sales, orders, wills, etc., have been preserved to the present day.

25. The family was already a well-recognized institution. The father was its acknowledged head, but the mother was highly honored. No family was regarded as complete without children. In Babylonia it was common to adopt sons by process of law. Respect and love for parents was taught and practised. "Thou shalt never forget what thy mother has done for thee," says Ani the sage of Egypt, and another declares, "I have caused the name of my father to increase." Giving in marriage was the father's privilege and was arranged on a money basis. The wooer paid for his bride according to his wealth. Usually the marriage ceremony was both civil and religious. The wife brought a marriage portion to her husband, which he had to return if he divorced her. A man might buy more than one wife, but this was a luxury reserved for the rich and was of doubtful advantage to the peace of the home life. In the king's "harem" were gathered as many princesses as there were political alliances with neighboring rulers or nobles. The sense of family unity seems to have been stronger in Babylonia than in Egypt. The Babylonian father had the power of life and death over wife and children; the children called themselves after the names of their ancestors. In Egypt names were individual, containing no reference to family relations, nor do funeral epitaphs usually glorify the ancestors of the dead.

The
Family.

26. Both Babylonians and Egyptians had already invented systems of writing. These systems sprang out of the attempt to represent objects and ideas by pictures—a circle standing for "sun," or a winged creature for "flying," etc. Two changes took place in course of time. The pictures began to have various meanings and they came

Writing.

to lose their original form as pictures. So in Babylonia we have words represented by a series of lines thickened into a wedge at the end. Hence these signs are called, from the Latin word *cuneus*, "a wedge," *cuneiform*. The Egyptians regarded their picture-signs as "divine" and "holy"; hence they are called hieroglyphics from the Greek word *hieros*, "holy." All these systems of writing, which seem to us so cumbrous and difficult, are nevertheless the foundation of our own alphabet, and in their day were a wonderful achievement which contributed immensely to human progress.

The Scribe. **27.** To master these methods of writing required special study, to which only a few could give themselves. These began as boys under the teacher, usually in the temple school, and graduated as *scribes*. To be a scribe was to enjoy an honorable and useful career in government employ, with the prospect of riches and advancement. To every king, prince, noble, governor or judge a scribe was indispensable for preparing his despatches or decisions; indeed, everybody who wished to write a letter or to read one was dependent on the scribe.

Literature. **28.** Songs, stories and records had also been written. In other words, these peoples had a literature. It started with the priests, who were the learned men of the time; therefore it was chiefly made up of religious books, such as prayers and hymns for public worship. But there were also tales in prose and verse about divine heroes and their wonderful adventures. The most striking of these is the Babylonian Epic of the Hero Gilgamesh, who seeks the fountain of immortality. In the eleventh book of this poem is the account of the deluge and the building of the ship in which one family of all human kind is saved—

**Its
Religious
Element.**

wonderfully like the Bible story in Genesis. The Egyptians had a fondness for stories of magic and fairy tales. Their poetry also was sometimes touching and thoughtful.

Mind thee of the day when thou too shalt start for the land
To which one goeth never to return.
Good for thee then will have been an honorable life;
Therefore be just and hate transgressions.
For he who loveth justice will be blessed;
Then give bread to him who has no field
And create for thyself a good name for posterity forever.

29. A sense for literature and history is shown in the desire of kings and nobles to preserve memorials of themselves. Long autobiographies are found in the tombs of Egyptian officials, and Babylonian kings proclaim their own deeds in inscriptions upon slabs and images. King Sargon of Agade (§ 36) is said to have formed a library in his capital and to have collected hymns and rituals in a great work called *The Illumination of Bel*. Every Babylonian temple also had its library where the temple documents and sacred books were placed. Many of these have only recently been unearthed.

Historical
Literature.

Libraries.

30. No little degree of comfort in living was enjoyed. The country houses of the aristocracy were roomy and surrounded by gardens in which trees, flowers and running water were found. The Egyptians had a passion for flowers, and at the banquets the guests were garlanded with wreaths. The walls of the house were hung with brilliant tapestries. Stools and couches, the forms of which are still copied among us, constituted the furniture. In the Babylonian cities the palaces of the king and his officials were built on platforms or mounds raised high above the plain, while the houses of the common people were crowded

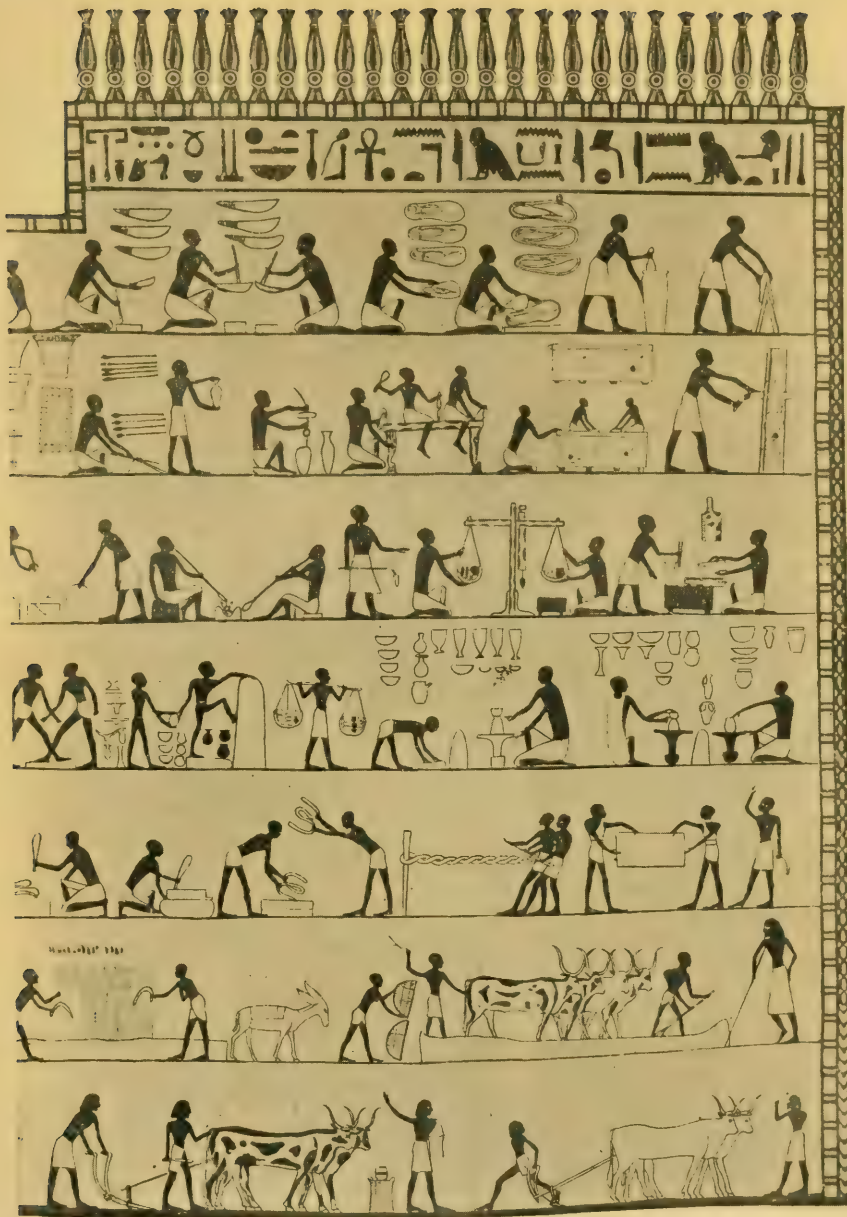
Arts of
Life.

The House.

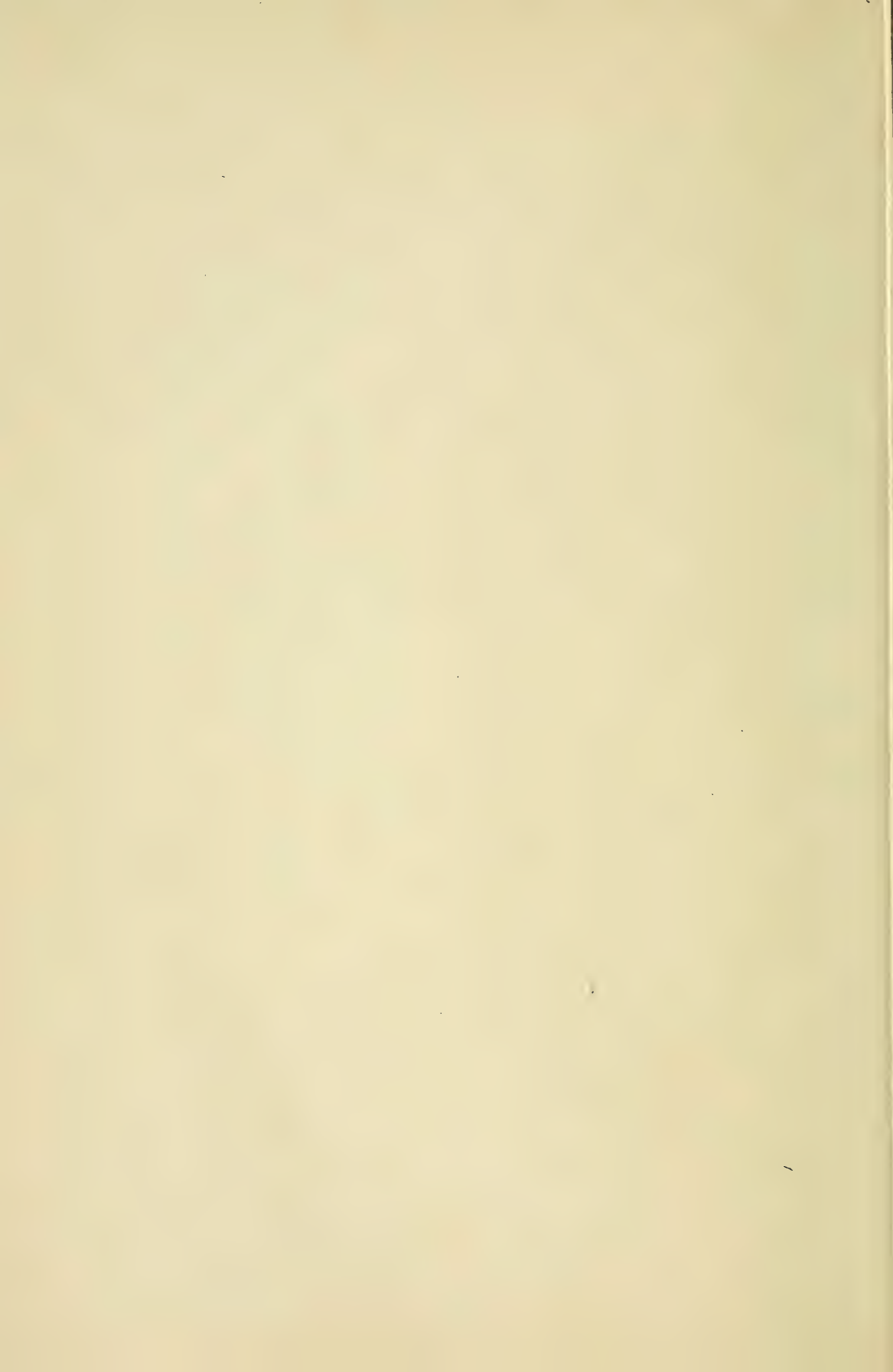
Food and
Drink.

together below them. The latter were simple and low, with thick mud walls and flat roofs. The streets were narrow and dirty. They received all the sweepings of the houses. When they filled up to the level of the house-doors, these were then closed up, the house built up another story and a new door provided. The fire was started with a fire stick and bow. The dining-table was a low bench, around which the family squatted and partook of the usual meal of dried fish, dates and cakes of ground grain. Beer was the universal drink, though wine was also very common. When an Egyptian gave an entertainment he usually invited his friends to a "house of beer," or a roast goose. They slept on low couches or on mats spread on the floor. The Egyptian's pillow was a wooden head-rest, which, though hard, was cool and did not disarrange his wig. The priests shaved their heads, other people wore their hair short, and all well-to-do persons wore wigs. Although the beard was shaven, the pictures represent the nobles with false beards as a sign of dignity. In Babylonia, on the contrary, the prevailing fashion was to wear hair and beard long. The fundamental article of dress was the cloth that was wrapped about the middle of the body. Additions were made to this by the better classes; the cloth was lengthened to the knees or a quilted skirt was worn. The Egyptian was most careful about cleanliness in dress, and the laundryman is a conspicuous figure on the monuments. In Egypt nothing was worn on the head; the Babylonian aristocracy are represented with flat caps. To go barefoot was customary, or, at most, sandals were worn. Ointments and cosmetics were used by men and women alike and for the entire body. A man's street-costume was not complete without a cane; in Babylonia

Dress.



PAINTING FROM THE WALL OF AN EGYPTIAN TOMB



everyone carried a seal which served him when he wished to sign his name. A variety of recreations is illustrated by the Egyptian monuments. Hunting birds and hippopotami in the Nile marshes was the favorite sport of the nobles. Bull-fights, wrestling, dancing, singing, and playing on musical instruments were greatly enjoyed; even games of checkers and chess are found.

Amuse-
ments.

31. Thus the higher arts were early reached. Both peoples accomplished much in architecture. Although the Babylonians had only bricks as building material, they erected massive and effective temples and palaces. A mighty terrace forty or more feet high was first built and on this rose the temple which usually culminated in a tower made of solid stories of brick placed one above another, each successive story smaller than the one beneath it—the whole often reaching one hundred feet in height. Egypt's most splendid structures were the Pyramids, built to serve as tombs of the kings. The pyramid of the Pharaoh Khufu of the fourth dynasty was a mass of limestone and granite over 755 feet square at the base, rising to a point at a height of 481 feet; the sides were faced with blocks so nicely fitted together as to look like a single mighty surface smooth and shining. In the heart of it was the funeral chamber, the roof of which was so carefully adjusted to bear the enormous weight above it as not to have yielded an inch in the course of the ages.*

The Higher
Arts.

Architect-
ure.

32. In the little as well as the great the ancients of these days showed remarkable skill. In the engraving of hard stones, the Babylonian artists excelled, while the gold and brightly colored inlay work of the Egyptians is surprising. The pottery is both useful and artistic, and the furniture

* The roof-beams of granite were cracked by the earthquake of 27 B.C.

- Sculpture.** affords models for the present day. The statues from hard granite, or harder diorite, were cut and polished with amazing fineness. It is true that grace and naturalness are rarely found in the pose and modelling of the figures. The Egyptians not only did not understand perspective, but they mixed up the profile and front views of their human figures in a grotesque manner. The statues, however, from both peoples, while stiff, are strong, real and impressive. You feel that they are for eternity.
- Science.** 33. What was known of the natural world, its laws and its forces, was a strange compound of truth and error. Many of nature's secrets had been pierced. The move-
- Astronomy.** ments of the heavenly bodies were mapped out. The year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days was determined. Eclipses were calculated. Men were familiar with the points of the compass and the signs of the Zodiac. The decimal system was employed, and joined with it was the sexagesimal system (10×6). Weights and measures were carefully worked out on the basis of the hand-breadth. The sun-dial and
- Mechanics.** the water-clock measured time. The mechanical skill shown in building is amazing. The arch, the lever and the inclined plane were known. Engineers of to-day, if they had only the means then available, would have serious difficulty in putting some of the stones of the Pyramids into their places, if indeed they could accomplish it at all.
- Cosmogony.** On the other hand, the earth was regarded by the Babylonians as an inverted bowl, its edges resting on the great watery deep. On its outer surface dwelt mankind. Within its crust was the dark abode of the dead. Above and about it, resting on the ocean of waters, was the heaven, another inverted bowl or disk, on the under side of which moved the heavenly bodies; on the outer side lay another

ocean, beyond which dwelt the gods in eternal light. The stars were thought to have influence, either good or bad, on the life of men, and hence were carefully studied. The study of medicine consisted of a search for strange combinations of incongruous substances, in which a wise prescription or a useful discovery came only by chance. The blood of lizards, the teeth of swine, putrid meat, the moisture from pigs' ears are among Egyptian remedies for illness. No study of Nature for her own sake, but only for practical ends or from religious motives—this was the vital weakness of ancient science.

Medicine.

34. The main factor in the life of these peoples was their religion. It inspired their literature, their science and their art. It was the foundation of their social and political life. Priests were judges, scribes, teachers and authors. Temples were treasuries, fortresses and colleges as well as places of worship. All this means that one of the first problems that these men had to face was their relation to the world about and above them. They sought to solve this problem by believing that they were surrounded by higher beings with whom it was possible to get on in peace and harmony. This belief, and the worship that sprang out of it, was religion; it had everything to do with primitive society. In the periods which we are studying, religion was far advanced. Had you gone into a city of Egypt or Babylonia and talked with a priest of the temple, he would have told you that, as there were gods for every city, so his city had its god who cared for and watched over its people; the king was his representative or even his son. God gave rain and fruitful seasons to the farmer and prosperity to the merchant; he saved from sickness and calamity; he appointed judges to give true judgments, and gov-

Religion.

General
ideas of
Gods.

The Baby-
lonian
Gods.

The
Egyptian
Gods.

The Future
Life.

ernors to rule uprightly. In turn the king reared the temple to the glory of the gods and established the priesthood to offer daily sacrifice of grain and cattle to them; he gave to the gods of the spoils of war and of the harvest, and hither the people brought their gifts and paid their vows. Had you asked the Babylonian who was this God, he would have replied: "Bel, 'the Lord'; or the Sun, or the Moon, or the Storm Wind, or the Watery Deep—all gods of power afar off. Nevertheless they are very watchful of man, who, often sinful and deserving of punishment, feels himself dependent on them, and comes to them with psalms and prayers of penitence when they have brought plague and sorrow upon him for his sin." To the same question the Egyptian would have replied: "Re,* the Sun, who moves daily over the sky in his boat scattering blessings upon his children, before whom flowers spring up and fields bloom, whom we praise in the morning at his rising and at even in his setting—and a thousand other gods of animals and plants who love us and are ever near to bless us by their mysterious presence and favor." And had you asked about the life after death the Babylonian would have shaken his head and spoken of the future as dark and sad when the spirit, torn from the body, goes down to the dusky abode of the dead, to drag out a miserable existence. But the Egyptian, with hopeful face, would have told you how to keep the body as an eternal abode of the spirit by mummifying it and putting it in a deep tomb far from decay and disturbance; or he would have spoken of the fields of Aaru, a happier Egypt beyond the sky, where, after passing through the trials of the under world, by the aid of the god Osiris and the power of the

* Pronounced Ray.

Book of the Dead, or in the sun-boat of the god Re, the soul would at last be united with the body in a blissful immortality.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

Introductory—history a growth—Ancient History the starting-point—return to history's beginnings—course of Ancient History—three parts.

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRES

Preliminary Survey: The field—physical unity—peoples—distribution—surrounding folk—course of historical progress—the grand divisions.

I. The First Kingdoms in Babylonia and Egypt.

a. Beginnings—movement toward unity in Babylonia—the Egyptian Kingdom (fourth dynasty—government and achievements; twelfth dynasty—government and achievements).

b. Social life in these early days: occupations (agriculture, industry, trade and commerce)—organization (the king, nobles, people, slaves), Babylonian merchants and means of exchange—the supremacy of law—the family—writing and literature—the art of living (house and furnishing, food and drink, dress, sport)—the higher arts (architecture, sculpture, astronomy, mechanics, cosmogony, medicine)—religion (the gods in general, Egyptian, Babylonian, future life).

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. Who were the Elamites? 2. For what are the following places noted: Memphis, Agade, Nippur, Thebes, Babylon? 3. What is meant by papyrus, deben, nome, cuneiform, feudal, shekel, hieroglyphic, dynasty? 4. Name with dates the grand divisions of Ancient History. 5. At about what time were the Pyramids built?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Early Babylonian Cities. Goodspeed, §§ 45-50. 2. Elamite Invasion of Babylonia. Goodspeed, §§ 63, 64. 3. The Fourth Egyptian Dynasty. Wendel, pp. 39-41; Murison, Egypt, §§ 22-24; Rawlinson, Story of Egypt, chs. 3-4. 4. The Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty. Wendel, pp. 50-57; Murison, Egypt, §§ 32-35;

Rawlinson, *Story of Egypt*, chs. 5-7. 5. **Babylonian Civilization.** Murison, *Babylonia and Assyria*, ch. 15; Goodspeed, §§ 66-93. 6. **What countries have once had a feudal system?** See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, articles "Feudalism" and "Japan." 7. **Modern Irrigation in Egypt; the Assouan Dam.** *Cosmopolitan*, Aug., 1901; *Idler*, 22: 257; *Nature*, 67: 184.

MAP AND PICTURE EXERCISES. 1. Draw a rough map of the ancient oriental world illustrating the crescent-shaped formation suggested in § 6. Locate as many countries and cities as possible. 2. From plate II, 1-4, try to enumerate the physical characteristics of the Semitic type of man. 3. From plate III find as many illustrations as possible of the life described in §§ 18-34. 4. On a map of the world follow the course marked out in § 3.

2.—THE EARLY BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

2500-1600 B.C.

The Expansion of
Babylonia.

35. Commerce was not the only means by which Babylonia influenced the outside world. Whenever a city-king gained power over other cities in that valley, he set about extending his sway over regions beyond. To the east, west and south, with their barriers of mountain, desert and sea, there was small prospect of extension. Elam and the districts lying on the slopes of the eastern ranges marked the limit in this direction. But to the north and northwest, the rivers Tigris and Euphrates opened up highways to the Mesopotamian and Syrian regions as far as the northern mountains and the Mediterranean. Thither at a very early date the city-kings led their armies and began to lay the foundations of an

Empire.* The kings of Agade (§ 13) were the greatest of these primitive imperial rulers (about 3800 B.C.).

36. The traditions† tell us that Sargon of Agade and his son Naram Sin ruled far and wide. Elam, parts of Arabia, islands in the Persian gulf, Mesopotamia and regions of Syria acknowledged their sway. An ancient record reads as follows: "The moon was favorable to Sargon, who at this season was highly exalted, and a rival, an equal, there was not. His own land was quiet. Over the countries of the sea of the setting sun [the Mediterranean sea] he passed, and for three years at the setting sun [the west] all lands his hand subdued. Every place he formed into one [*i.e.*, he organized all into an empire]. His images at the setting sun he erected [*i.e.*, as a sign of authority in the west].

37. When the kings of Babylon (§ 13) had united all Babylonia under their sway, they, too, followed the imperial policy and founded the First Babylonian Empire—the earliest enduring state that covered the larger part of the known world. In extent it did not surpass the limits which tradition assigns to Sargon, but the long and abundant series of written documents which have come from its kings bears undoubted testimony to their rule. The founder of the Empire was Hammurabi, a brilliant warrior and statesman (about 2250 B.C.). An inscription illustrates his care for the canal-system of Babylonia:

The First
Empire.

King
Hammur-
abi.

"When Anu and Bel [great gods of Babylonia] gave me the land of Babylonia to rule and intrusted their sceptre to my hands, I dug out the Hammurabi canal, nourisher of men, which brings abundance of

*An Empire (Latin, *Imperium*) is a state made by the supremacy of one city or state over several others. Such a policy of making a great state is called Imperialism.

† "Tradition" is the story which is handed down by word of mouth and not written till long after the events took place. Hence it does not always preserve the exact facts.

water to the Babylonian lands. Both its banks I changed into fields for cultivation, and I gathered heaps of grain, and I procured unfailing water for the Babylonian lands."

His Law-
code.

For his Empire the king published a code of laws which contains some 280 statutes and reveals a high ideal of justice. Some of the more striking and instructive of the laws are the following:

1. If a man bring an accusation against a man and charge him with a crime, but cannot prove it, he, the accuser, shall be put to death.

8. If a man steal ox or sheep, ass or pig or boat—if it be from a god (temple) or a palace, he shall restore thirty-fold; if it be from a freeman, he shall render ten-fold. If the thief have nothing wherewith to pay, he shall be put to death.

21. If a man make a breach in a house, they shall put him to death in front of that breach, and they shall thrust him therein.

25. If a fire break out in the house of a man, and a man who goes to extinguish it cast his eye on the furniture of the owner of the house, and take the furniture of the owner of the house, that man shall be thrown into that fire.

57. If a shepherd have not come to an agreement with the owner of a field to pasture his sheep on the grass and pasture his sheep on the field without the owner's consent, the owner of the field shall harvest his field, the shepherd who has pastured his sheep on the field without the consent of the owner of the field shall give over and above twenty *gur* of grain per *gan* to the owner of the field.

117. If a man be in debt and sell his wife, son or daughter, or bind them over to service, for three years they shall work in the house of their purchaser or master; in the fourth year they shall be given their freedom.

195-199. If a son strike his father, they shall cut off his fingers. If a man destroy the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye. If one break a man's bone, they shall break his bone. If one destroy the eye of a freeman or break the bone of a freeman, he shall pay one mina of silver. If one destroy the eye of a man's slave or break a bone of a man's slave, he shall pay one-half his price.

206. If a man strike another man in a quarrel and wound him, he

shall swear "I struck him without intent," and he shall be responsible for a physician.

251. If a man's bull has been wont to gore and they have made known to him its habit of goring, and he has not protected its horns, or has not tied it up, and that bull gores the son of a man and brings about his death, he shall pay one-half mina of silver.

In his concluding words the king says: "Let any oppressed man, who has a cause, come before my image as king of righteousness! Let him read the inscription on my monument! Let him give heed to my mighty words! And may my monument enlighten him as to his cause and may he understand his case! May he set his heart at ease! (and he will exclaim:) 'Hammurabi is indeed a ruler who is like a real father to his people.' "

38. For centuries kings continued to rule in peace and prosperity over the Empire founded by Hammurabi. Even when rude tribes from the eastern mountains, called the Kassites, entered the Babylonian plain and their chieftains (about 1700 B.C.) seated themselves on the throne of Babylon, the structure of the state remained firm. The new people accepted the civilization, and the new kings ruled by the customs and laws of the old Babylonian Empire. An idea of the extent of their influence and the commercial relations of their time is gained by the fact that for the temple at Nippur (§ 13) they brought gypsum from Mesopotamia, marble, cedar and cypress from the eastern mountains, lapis lazuli from Bactria in the far east, magnesite from the island of Eubœa in the Ægean sea, and cobalt, possibly, from China, besides copper, gold and precious stones from other regions.

The
Kassite
Conquest.

39. In one corner of the Empire trouble arose which in course of time cast it down from its lofty seat. On the upper Tigris the subject city of Assur threw off the yoke when the Kassites came to power in Babylon. In the war

Rise of
Assyria

Decline of
Babylonia.

that followed, she not only secured independence but founded the kingdom of Assyria (about 1700 B.C.)—so called from the city Assur. A chronic state of hostility between Assyria and Babylonia, breaking out now and again into fierce conflicts, crippled both powers and especially weakened the imperial authority of Babylon. Her sway over the lands to the northwest and on the Mediterranean coast steadily declined and at last disappeared. Her kings still ruled in Babylon, but the First Babylonian Empire perished (about 1600 B.C.).

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRES.

1. The First Kingdoms in Babylonia and Egypt.
2. THE EARLY BABYLONIAN EMPIRE, 2500-1600 B.C.—expansion of Babylonia—First Empire—Hammurabi—his law-code—Kassite conquest—rise of Assyria—decline of the Empire.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what were the following famous: Hammurabi, Sargon of Agade? 2. Who were the Semites, the Kassites? 3. What is meant by empire, lapis lazuli, tradition? 4. When did Hammurabi live?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. Sargon of Agade. Goodspeed, §§ 58-59; Ragozin, Chaldaea, pp. 205-214; Murison, Babylon and Assyria, §§ 6-9. 2. The Fourteenth Chapter of Genesis, verses 1-5. Ragozin, Chaldaea, pp. 221-24; Murison, Babylon and Assyria, §§ 13-14. 3. The Reign of Hammurabi. Murison, Babylon and Assyria, § 15; Goodspeed, §§ 94-97. 4. The Code of Hammurabi. The Biblical World, March, 1903, March, 1904. 5. The Kassites. Murison, Babylon and Assyria, § 16; Goodspeed, §§ 102-108. 6. The Cuneiform Inscriptions. Encyclopedia Britannica, article "Inscriptions"; Goodspeed, §§ 22-34.

3.—THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

1600–1100 B.C.

40. The feudal kingdom of Egypt, after the brilliant days of the twelfth dynasty (§ 16), fell into decay. The nobles gained more power and rose up against their kings. Foreign peoples invaded the land and added to the confusion. Finally, about the time that the Kassites entered Babylonia (§ 38), invaders from western Arabia and Syria burst into Egypt through the isthmus of Suez and took possession of the northern half of the land. They also made southern Egypt tributary, though the seat of their own power was in the north. From the name given to their leaders they are usually called the Hyksos.

The
Hyksos
Invade
Egypt.

Manetho (§ 15*n*), as quoted in a writing of Josephus the Jew, tells among other things why this name was given to them. He says: "There came up from the east in a strange manner men of an ignoble race, who had the confidence to invade our country, and easily subdued it by their power without a battle. And when they had our rulers in their hands, they burnt our cities and demolished the temples of the gods and inflicted every kind of barbarity upon the inhabitants, slaying some and reducing the wives and children of others to a state of slavery. At length they made one of themselves king. . . . He lived at Memphis and rendered both the upper and the lower regions of Egypt tributary and stationed garrisons in places which were best adapted for that purpose. All this nation was styled Hyksos, that is, Shepherd Kings; for the first syllable, *Hyk*, in the sacred dialect denotes 'king,' and *sos* signifies 'shepherd,' but this only according to the vulgar tongue; and of these is compounded the name *Hyksos*."

41. The Hyksos ruled over Egypt for a century. The people adopted the manners and customs of the Egyptians, and the kings ruled like the native Pharaohs. Yet the

Expulsion
of the
Hyksos.

Egyptians could not forget that they were foreigners. A rebellion broke out in the south, gathered strength, and war was waged for years. The princes of Thebes were leaders of the rebels, fighting for the deliverance of their country and their gods. It was a fierce struggle. The mummy of one of these princes, now in the Cairo Museum, shows a great slash on the head received apparently in one of these battles. After, perhaps, half a century of fighting, the foreign princes were driven out of Egypt into the northeast whence they had come. The native Egyptians recovered their land, and the princes of Thebes, who had led them so valiantly had their reward. They became kings of Egypt.

The New
Warlike
Spirit.

42. The Egyptians hitherto had been a peaceful people. They had enlarged their domains in the early days chiefly by entering the peninsula of Sinai and making expeditions up the Nile into Nubia. But now circumstances made it possible for them to do greater things. The Hyksos had brought the horse with them into Egypt, and in war much more could be done by means of horses. Chariots could be employed, longer marches made. The Egyptian army had been trained in the new art of war and seasoned by the long and fierce struggle with the Hyksos. The Pharaoh, their leader, had become a warrior eager for military glory. The gods of Egypt, represented by their priests, called for vengeance on their enemies and for the extension of their divine sway over the distant lands. So the Egyptians embarked on a new career—a career of conquest. Thereby they transformed Egypt from a kingdom into an Empire, the second Empire of the Ancient World.

Egypt an
Empire.

43. The conquering monarchs make up the eighteenth dynasty (about 1600–1350 B.C.). The greatest of them was

Thutmose III, who ruled in the sixteenth century. He made at least sixteen campaigns into the northeast through the regions on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. Twice, perhaps thrice, he reached the Euphrates, and even crossed the river into Mesopotamia. The Egyptian Empire reached from central Nubia in the south to the northern mountains and the Euphrates. Egypt succeeded Babylonia in supremacy over Syria.

The
Eighteenth
Dynasty.
Thutmose
III

Thutmose III had a long account of his expeditions written on the walls of one of his temples in Thebes. His first campaign lasted about six months, from April to October, during which he covered about 2,000 miles and fought at least one great battle at Megiddo. The following is the king's description of the battle:

"Command was given before his whole army, saying, 'Prepare ye, make ready your weapons, for we move to fight with the vile enemy to-morrow.' The baggage of the chiefs was prepared and the provisions of the followers, and the sentinels of the army were spread abroad; they said 'Firm of heart, firm of heart, watchful of head, watchful of head.' On the twenty-first day of the month, even the same as the royal coronation, early in the morning command was given to the entire army to advance. His Majesty went forth in his chariot of electrum adorned with his weapons of war. His Majesty was in the midst of them, the god Amon being the protection to his body and strength to his limbs. Then his Majesty prevailed over them at the head of his army. When they saw his Majesty prevailing over them, they fled headlong to Megiddo, as if terrified by spirits; they left their horses and their chariots of silver and gold, and were drawn up by hauling them by their clothes into this city, for the men shut the gates of this city upon them. The fear of his Majesty entered their hearts, their arms failed, their mighty men lay along like fishes on the ground. The great army of his Majesty drew round to count their spoil. The whole army rejoiced, giving praise to Amon for the victory that he had given to his son, and they glorified his Majesty, extolling his victories."

44. The victorious kings of the eighteenth dynasty held this region for a century. Then a new enemy came down

Wars with
the
Hittites.

from the north, the Hittites, who began to contest the possession of the northern half of Syria. The famous Pharaoh, Ramses II (1288-1221 B.C.), of the nineteenth dynasty, fought with them for nearly twenty years. At last he made a treaty of peace with their king, which was written on a silver tablet and copied on the temple wall at Thebes. From this time the Egyptian Empire practically extended only to the Lebanon mountains. A century later the Hittite Kingdom disappeared before the advance of a horde of peoples migrating down the coast of the Mediterranean from Asia Minor (about 1170 B.C.). Ramses III, of the twentieth dynasty, was then on the Egyptian throne. He summoned all his forces to withstand the invaders, and dispersed them in a great battle on the northern border of his Empire. But this effort exhausted the resources of Egypt. Its Empire gradually dwindled away. Pharaohs continued to rule in the Nile valley, but their power over Syria was gone. Thus the second Imperial State of the Ancient East disappeared (1100 B.C.).

45. Egypt in these centuries better deserved the name of an Empire than did its predecessor, Babylonia. It was more thoroughly organized. Whenever the Pharaoh conquered a city-state of Syria, he laid upon its king the obligation to pay a yearly sum as tribute. Sometimes he took the king's eldest son to his court to be educated. Garrisons of Egyptian troops were placed in some cities, and governors were appointed in certain districts. Even communities of Egyptian people went out to dwell in towns of Syria. Such bodies of settlers are called *colonies*. The Pharaoh kept in close relations with his governors and subject-kings through constant correspondence with them

and by sending out inspectors from time to time to examine into their affairs.

46. A mass of this official correspondence from two kings of the eighteenth dynasty was discovered in Egypt recently at Tel-el-Amarna, and is called the Tel-el-Amarna Letters. They contain despatches from governors and princes of Syria. Some are from the king of Jerusalem; other letters are from the rulers of Babylonia and Assyria, with replies from the Pharaoh. All of these are written in the Babylonian character—a fact which shows how deeply Babylonian civilization had influenced the Ancient World. Even Egyptian kings wrote to their Syrian subjects in Babylonian. It was the diplomatic* language of the day.

Tel-el-Amarna Letters.

Significance.

47. Egypt as an Empire was very different from the Egypt of the preceding feudal period. The feudal nobility had been wiped out by the invasion of the Hyksos and the wars of deliverance. Their property fell into the hands of the king, who now became the one proprietor of all Egypt. This property he rented out to the people for a percentage of its product. Some of it he gave to the generals of his armies. They were his officials, governors and judges. The army was now a standing institution, under arms at all times. Though not so at first, it gradually came to be made up in large part of foreigners who were paid for their military service. Such soldiers are called "mercenaries." A mercenary army was a dangerous machine, since the soldiers were held to the imperial service only by the money that they gained from it. The spoils of the wars made many of them very rich. The religious officials, the priests, also profited by the wars, since a part of the spoils of victory was given to the gods

The King.

The Army.

The Priests.

* The language which different states use in dealing with each other Diplomacy is the science of *international* relations.

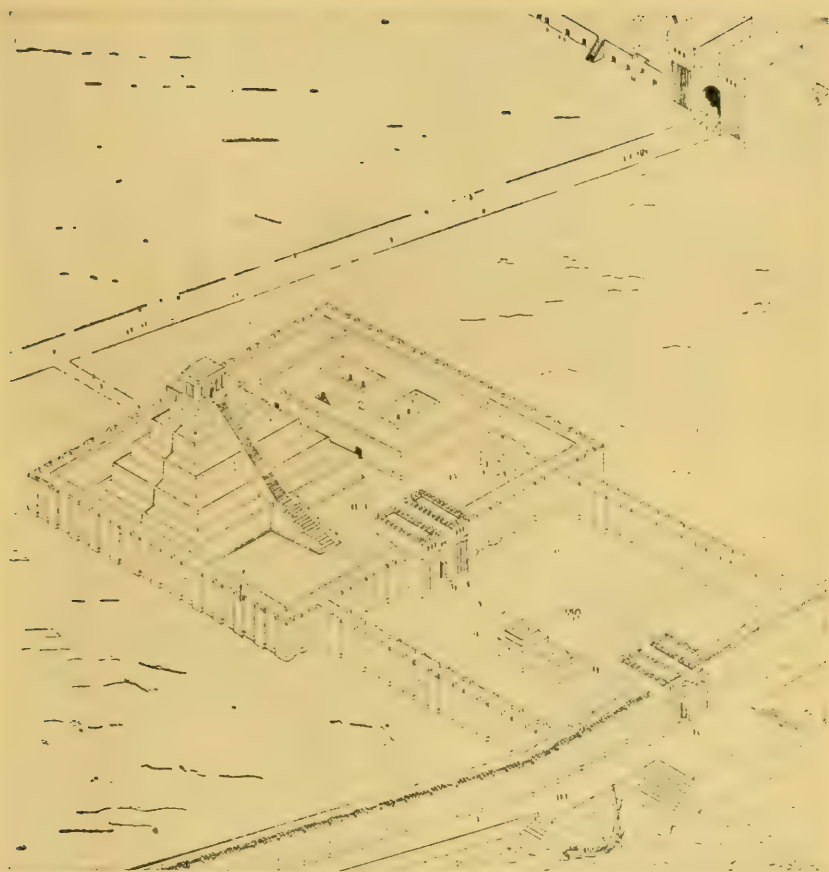
of Egypt, whose ministers they were. The temples became wealthy and powerful establishments. Their property was not taxed, and their people did not have to perform military service. Thus it came about that the chief elements in the state were now three—the king, the army and the priests.

48. In the Old Testament the change in the position of the king is said to have been brought about by a foreign prime minister, the Israelite statesman and hero, Joseph. The Book of Genesis says: "He gathered up food in the cities, corn as the sand of the sea. And there was famine and the people cried unto Pharaoh for bread; and Pharaoh said: 'Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do.' And Joseph sold unto the Egyptians. And when the money was all spent, Joseph said: 'Give your cattle.' And they brought their cattle and Joseph gave them bread in exchange. And they said: 'Buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh.' So Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh. Only the land of the priests he bought not; for the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, and did eat their portion: wherefore they sold not their land. Then Joseph said unto the people: 'At the harvests ye shall give a fifth unto Pharaoh and four parts shall be your own.' And Joseph made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt unto this day that Pharaoh should have the fifth; only the land of the priests alone became not Pharaoh's."

Results.

49. As a result of its conquests, Egypt became very rich in gold and slaves. Hence, money and cheap laborers were plentiful for building operations. Temples of unequalled grandeur were reared. The capital city, Thebes, was the scene of the most splendid exhibition of this architecture. The temples on the sites now known as Karnak and Luxor (parts of the city of Thebes) were and have ever since remained among the wonders of the world. Every great king of these dynasties enlarged and beautified them, wrote an account of his exploits upon their walls

Architect-
ure.



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From "Explorations in Bible Lands During the Nineteenth Century."

A Babylonian Temple (Nippur)



An Egyptian Temple (Luxor)

ORIENTAL TEMPLES

and enriched their priests by splendid offerings. The Karnak temple was a quarter of a mile long and 379 feet wide at the main front—more than twice as large as St. Peter's Church at Rome. Amon, the god specially worshipped at Thebes, became the great god of Egypt, beside whom other gods seemed of no account. The kings set up colossal statues of themselves in the temples. One of Ramses II, found in northern Egypt, was some ninety feet high and weighed about nine hundred tons. Abundant wealth gave also the leisure to study and write; hence the literature of the Egyptian Empire is most abundant. Love-songs, hymns to the gods, theological works, romances, and letters are among the writings preserved. One of the most famous is a kind of epic history describing the deeds of Ramses II in a battle with the Hittites. From the name of the scribe who copied it, it is called the Poem of Pentaur.

Literature.

The most stirring part of it presents Ramses II cut off from his army and surrounded by the enemy. Ramses calls upon his god: "How is this, my father Amon? Does a father then forget his son? I have done nothing, indeed, without thee. He is miserable who knows not god. Have I not erected to thee many monuments, in order to fill thy temple with my spoil? I call to thee, my father Amon. I am in the midst of many people, I am quite alone, my foot-soldiers and my chariot force have forsaken me. When I called to them, I found that Amon was better to me than millions of foot-soldiers, and hundreds of thousands of chariots. The works of men are as nothing; Amon is more precious than they. Do I not call from the ends of the world? Yet Re has heard me, he comes to me when I call. He calls from behind me: 'Thou art not alone, I am with thee, I, thy father Re; my hand is with thee.' I take heart again. What I desire to do, that happens. Behold, none of them are able to fight before me, their hearts melt, their arms fall, they cannot shoot. I slay them according to my will. Not one of them

looks behind him and not one of them turns round. He who falls of them rises no more."

The Dark
Side.

50. Yet in the higher arts Egypt in this period was not superior. Bigness rather than beauty was the ideal of art and architecture. Fine writing and swelling words rather than clear and deep thought were the rule. Indeed, the whole structure of the state and society was artificial and not a natural growth. The building was made great and splendid by slave labor and foreign money; the Egyptians were enfeebled by the luxury which they enjoyed. In all that constitutes true greatness Egypt was not so strong as in the earlier days. Pride of power and abundance of silver and gold were eating out her heart.

Threaten-
ing Move-
ments from
the West.

51. We turn to observe a fact which lies outside the field of the ancient East, but which is a prophecy of coming events. We saw (§ 44) that a migration of peoples from Asia Minor destroyed the Hittite kingdom and struck a hard blow at the Egyptian Empire. What caused their movement? What was going on in the northwest whence they came? To the west of Asia Minor lies the Ægean sea; on both sides of that sea in this period the Greeks had made settlements and had built up a flourishing civilization. We hear of great cities like Mycenæ in Greece, and Troy in the northwestern corner of Asia Minor, and of a mighty contest between them which Homer, the Greek poet, has immortalized in the *Iliad*. It is not unlikely that the migration into Syria is connected with the movements of which the Trojan War forms a part. At any rate, now for the first time the West comes into view and the first conflicts of East and West—the appearance of one of the most important moving forces of ancient and modern history.

The Greeks
Emerge.

52. Another people appeared at this time which was destined to play a part in history. Among the tribes that had come over from the East into Syria was Israel—a part of the tribes known as the Hebrews (§ 8). At first they had wandered through the southern part of Syria (Palestine), but in the time of the Hyksos kings they entered northern Egypt. There, after the Hyksos had been driven out, they were oppressed, by Ramses II it is thought, and in the last years of the nineteenth dynasty, led by the hero Moses, they escaped into the eastern desert, delivered from the Egyptians by Jehovah their god at the crossing of the Red sea (about 1200 B.C.). During the early years of the twentieth dynasty they wandered in the desert. We shall hear of them again.

The Hebrews
Appear.

53. To look back over this period and to sum it up—at the beginning of the sixteenth century the grip of Babylonia upon the regions of the west and north was relaxed and conflict with Assyria was the order of the day. Egypt was in the hands of the Hyksos. But soon, rising up against their foreign lords, the Egyptians drove them out, and fired by warlike zeal, followed on to the conquest of the east. The kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties won Syria and organized the Egyptian Empire. The rich tribute of the Syrian states flowed into the Egyptian treasury. In power and luxury, in art and literature, the Egypt of this period was magnificent. But enemies rose up in the provinces or appeared on the borders; the Egyptians themselves could not endure the strain this splendid career brought upon them, and with the close of the twentieth dynasty the Egyptian Empire was a thing of the past.

Summary
of the
Period.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRES

1. The First Kingdoms in Babylonia and Egypt. 2. The Early Babylonian Empire.
3. THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE, 1600-1100 B.C.
 - a. The Hyksos invasion—their expulsion—the new warlike spirit.
 - b. Egypt as an empire—the eighteenth dynasty, Thutmose III—wars with the Hittites—Ramses II—western immigration—Ramses III—decline.
 - c. Organization (Tel-el-Amarna letters—the king, the army, the priests).
 - d. Results (wealth—architecture—literature—the dark side).
 - e. Greece on the horizon—the Hebrews appear.
 - f. Summary.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what were the following famous: Ramses II, Thutmose III, Ramses III? 2. Who were the Hyksos, the Hittites? 3. What is meant by Tel-el-Amarna Letters, nome, empire? 4. For what are the following places noted: Karnak, Assur, Memphis, Luxor, Nippur, Megiddo? 5. When did Ramses II live? 6. At about what date was the departure of the Israelites from Egypt?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. Invasion of the Hyksos. Murison, Egypt, §§ 36-40; Rawlinson, Story of Egypt, chs. 8-9. 2. Thutmose III. Murison, Egypt, §§ 45-47; Rawlinson, Story of Egypt, pp. 189-206. 3. Ramses II. Murison, Egypt, § 55; Wendel, pp. 87-95; Rawlinson, Story of Egypt, pp. 238-252; Sayce, Ancient Empires, pp. 43-46. 4. The Hittites and Their Empire. Encyclopedia Britannica, article "Hittites." 5. The Temples of Thebes. Rawlinson, Story of Egypt, see index under "Temple of Ammon," of "Karnak." 6. Egyptian Civilization. Murison, Egypt, chs. 13-15. 7. The Book of the Dead. Murison, Egypt, ch. 12. 8. Apply the following utterance of an Egyptian Sage to Egyptian history of this Epoch: "If thou hast become great after having been little, harden not thy heart. Thou art only become the steward of the good things of God."

4.—THE SYRIAN EMPIRES

1100-900 B.C.

54. The passing away of the Egyptian Empire about 1100 B.C. was not followed—as might have been expected—by the advance of the states of Assyria and Babylonia to seize her lost supremacy. One of those tremendous overflows of people from central and northern Arabia, such as took place from time to time when there was not food enough in the desert to supply the population, flooded the northern districts of Mesopotamia and Syria. These peoples, called the Arameans, thus cut off communication between east and west. At the same time a similar horde, called the Kaldi, entered southern Babylonia. Both Assyria and Babylonia, therefore, had all they could do to defend themselves and could not advance westward.

New Immigrations.

The Arameans.

The Kaldi.

55. One region of the Ancient World had now the opportunity to assert itself—that between the Nile and the Euphrates—Syria. Here was the scene of the attempts at empire in the next two centuries (1100-900 B.C.). During this time Syria was the real centre of historical life. Four peoples of this region came forward and made up the history of the time. These were the Phœnicians, the Philistines, the Israelites and the Arameans of Damascus.

The Opportunity of Syria.

Its Four Peoples.

56. The Lebanon mountains, as they run down along the eastern Mediterranean from the north for two hundred miles, throw out spurs from time to time into the sea and leave here and there spaces of coast from one to five miles

The Phœnicians.

Land.**Occupations.****Tyre's
Commercial
Supremacy.****Phœnician
Coloniza-
tion.**

wide and six to twenty miles long. In these petty patches of earth, with the high mountains at their back and the blue sea before them, the Phœnicians cultivated the fertile soil, built cities and learned to sail the sea. Beginning by trading with each other and with the people of the interior, they went on to make voyages to more distant parts and to carry the wares of the east to the less advanced western lands. When the Egyptian Empire ceased to rule over them, they were free to act for themselves. One city among them, Tyre, situated on a rocky island about half a mile from shore, obtained the leadership among them and became the commercial centre of the east and west. The merchandise of Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Arabia, Armenia, not to speak of the lesser peoples, was brought to Tyre. Raw materials were received and turned into manufactured articles in Tyrian workshops—metals into arms, toilet articles and furniture; wool into cloths which were marvellously colored by means of the dye made from shell-fish found on the Phœnician coast. All these materials were taken out in Phœnician ships and exchanged for native products at trading posts established at different points on the Mediterranean. Already the Phœnicians had settled in the island of Cyprus, seventy miles to the west. Some points in the Ægean sea were touched, but the Greeks were too strong there, and the Phœnicians went on to the regions of the western Mediterranean. The north African coast, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic islands, were occupied. Spain, with its mines of precious metal, was a rich centre of Phœnician enterprise. Out into the Atlantic fared their adventurous ships, southward to the Canary islands and northward to Britain.

57. Herodotus describes a typical instance of Phœnician trading: "When they have come to a land and unload the merchandise from their ships, they set it in order along the beach and return aboard their ships. Then they raise a smoke, and the natives of the land, seeing the smoke, come to the shore and lay down gold as much as they think the goods are worth; then they withdraw quite a distance. The Carthaginians upon that come ashore again and look; if they think the gold enough, they take it and go their way; but if not, they go on board again and wait. The others approach and add more gold till they satisfy them. They say that neither party wrongs the other; for they themselves do not touch the gold till it comes up to the value of their wares, nor do the others lay hands on the goods till the gold has been taken away."

58. Most of their settlements were temporary trading posts, but in some districts, where wealth and prosperity seemed to be constant, they established permanent colonies. The most famous of these were Utica and Carthage in North Africa, Tarshish and Gades (Cadiz) in Spain, and the cities of western Sicily. The tie between the colony and the home-land was close. The mother city usually maintained a political and religious supremacy. Thus Tyre under its kings was during these centuries the head of a flourishing Colonial Empire.

The Chief Colonies.

A Colonial Empire.

59. The Phœnicians carried things more valuable than the merchandise of the east to the western world, for they also made known to it the higher arts of life. Thus the systems of weights and measures, the achievements of eastern art, and, above all, the alphabet, became the possession of the peoples of the Mediterranean. The Phœnicians improved upon these things before they handed them on. This is especially true of the alphabet. In the interests of their business activities they so simplified and modified the various modes of writing acquired by them from the eastern nations, that we are not able to say from

Phœnician Services to Civilization.

The Alphabet.

which one of the eastern systems, whether the Egyptian, or the Babylonian, or the Arabian, the Phœnician alphabet is derived. We only know that the Phœnician alphabet is the basis of ours.

The
Philistines.

60. The Phœnicians made their conquests upon the shores of the Mediterranean in the peaceful ways of trade.

Origin.

Not so arose the other great states of Syria. Closely connected with the mighty migration from Asia Minor in the time of Ramses III (§ 44), we find a new people in possession of the broad plain which lies at the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean. The Philistines—called by Ramses III the Pulsta—though they were evidently not Semites, accepted the language and customs of the Semitic cities which they ruled.* As these cities lay on the main routes of trade from Egypt into Asia, their lords, the Philistines, were rich and powerful and flourished exceedingly. They were a fighting folk, far superior in weapons and the arts of war to the peaceful Semites about them, and soon began to make their power felt throughout the whole maritime plain from Mt. Carmel in the north

Expansion.

to the highlands in the east. They began to push up into the interior and came into conflict with a people that had settled the mountain valleys, some time after they themselves had conquered the plain. This people was Israel (§ 52). In the first encounters Israel was badly beaten, although in fact, as will soon appear, the Philistine victories were only temporary. A proof of the importance and renown of the Philistines is seen in the fact that the name by which southern Syria is known—Palestine—is derived from the Philistines.

Palestine.

*The five cities of the Philistines were Gaza, Gath, Ashdod, Askelon and Ekron.

61. Israel, after escaping from Egypt and wandering for a generation in the desert south of Syria (§ 52), moved to the east of the Dead sea, crossed the Jordan river and burst into the highlands of Palestine about 1150 B.C. They were a wild, wandering folk with a simple faith in their god, Jehovah, who had given them, through Moses his servant, the Ten Commandments, and was for them the one supreme lord of justice and truth, their deliverer and friend.

Israel.

Origin.

Religion.

The Ten Commandments are the noblest brief collection of the laws of right living that has come down from the ancient world. They are the following:

I am Jehovah thy God:

1. Thou shalt have none other gods before me.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy god in vain.
4. Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.
5. Honor thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt do no murder.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
10. Thou shalt not covet.

62. After a century occupied in overcoming the people of the region, called the Canaanites, and settling down as farmers, they began to desire a national life and an organized government. What brought this to a head was the attack and temporary supremacy of the Philistines (§ 60). A religious leader, Samuel, organized a band of prophets who went about preaching deliverance through Jehovah and stirred up the people to rebellion. He also presented to them a king whom Jehovah had chosen, Saul, a frank, impetuous, mighty man of valor. He be-

National
Feeling.

Samuel
the
Prophet.

Saul the
Warrior.

came the first king of Israel (about 1050 B.C.), and beat back the Philistines.

David
the
Hero.

63. After his death David was chosen king, another heroic and magnetic warrior, who was also a man of genius and statesmanship. He built up an army with which he defeated his enemies, extended the authority of Israel over neighboring peoples and made its influence felt as far north as the Euphrates river. His greatest work was the establishment of the national capital at Jerusalem, where the king dwelt, the court assembled, justice was administered and Jehovah was worshipped as the national god.

Solomon
the
Organizer.

64. David was followed by his son Solomon (about 975 B.C.). As his father had been the founder of the state, so he became its organizer. He had a masterly mind for politics and administration. To break up sectional feeling and to weld the state firmly together, he divided the land into twelve districts as the basis for his administration. He instituted regular taxes, had a standing army, entered into alliances with neighboring states. One of the most important of these alliances was that with Hiram, king of Tyre, the most brilliant of the Phœnician rulers. Together they made commercial expeditions on the Red sea and the Indian ocean. Solomon also allied himself with the king of Egypt and married his daughter. He made trading alliances with the peoples of the north. Thus Israel became a nation among the other nations of the world. Solomon used his abundant wealth to strengthen and beautify his kingdom, building cities and fortresses at strategic points for trade and defence. Jerusalem was the object of his special attention. There he built palaces, walls, and the famous Temple,

the wonder and pride of his people, for the worship of Jehovah. When he died, Israel was the leading state of Syria, and a splendid future seemed to be assured.

65. But Solomon was in advance of his people and his time. The people resented his strict government with its taxes, its military service, its forced labor on the palaces and forts. They had been only two centuries out of the free life of the desert, and the memory of it remained. They did not care to play the imperial rôle which Solomon designed for them. When after his death his son continued his father's policy, the northern tribes refused to recognize him and elected another king, leaving him to be king over his own tribe, Judah. This event is known as the Disruption (about 930 B.C.); it was the death-blow to the position of Israel as a world-power. Henceforth there were two kingdoms on the highlands of Palestine—Israel in the north and Judah in the south. The capital of Judah remained at Jerusalem. Israel's new capital was placed at Samaria. Israel's kings tried to play the part of David and Solomon on a smaller scale, while Judah was content to lead a quiet and secluded life under the descendants of those great rulers.

Weakness
of Sol-
omon's
Régime.

The Dis-
ruption.

66. By this time (925 B.C.) the Arameans, who had migrated into Syria (§ 54), had become settled. Both David and Solomon had come into contact with them. One of their leaders got possession of the city of Damascus, where he set up a kingdom (about 975 B.C.). Damascus was the chief trading centre of Syria, the halting-place of caravans, where merchants from Egypt and the East met to exchange their wares and to supply the wandering tribes that came in from the neighboring desert. The city was beautiful for situation, lying in the midst of a well-

The
Arameans.

At
Damascus.

Growth. watered and fertile valley on the edge of the desert, mid-way between the Mediterranean and the Mesopotamian valley, between Egypt and the Euphrates. The Aramean kingdom planted at this strategic point soon became powerful and began to lay its hand upon the districts round about. Soon it came into touch with Israel, and the relations, at first friendly, passed later into enmity, each power striving for mastery over the land of Syria.

Wars with Israel.

The End of Syrian Greatness.

67. Neither of these states, however, was destined for empire. The troubles that had held back the greater powers on the Euphrates and Tigris were over; the brief career of splendor for the kingdoms of Syria was at an end. Already Assyria was knocking at the gates of the West, and the conflicts of Philistia, Judah, Israel and Damascus were swallowed up in the fiercer struggle of all against the oncoming Assyrian might. Thus a new period of the history of the Ancient East was ushered in.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRES

1. The First Kingdoms in Babylonia and Egypt. 2. The Early Babylonian Empire. 3. The Egyptian Empire.
4. THE SYRIAN EMPIRES, 1100-900 B.C.
 1. Immigration — Syria's opportunity — the four peoples. 2. Phoenicians — land, occupations — Tyre, colonization and colonial empire — services to civilization. 3. Philistines — origin — expansion. 4. Israel — origin — religion — organization — Samuel — Saul — David — Solomon — disruption. 5. Arameans — at Damascus — growth — wars with Israel. 6. Close of Syrian period — summary.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. Who were the Arameans, the Kassites, the Canaanites, the Kaldi? 2. For what were the following places noted: Carthage, Damascus, Jerusalem, Thebes, Gades, Tyre, Gaza? 3. For what were the following persons

famous: Solomon, Hammurabi, Thutmose? 4. Prepare a map showing the extent of Phœnician colonization.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Phœnicians. Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, pp. 178–209; Ragozin, *Assyria*, ch. 3. 2. Moses and His Work. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article “Moses.” 3. The Reign of David. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article “David”; Kent, *History of Hebrew People*, United Kingdom, pp. 136–168. 4. The Story of the Disruption. 1. Kings, ch. 12; Kent, *History, Divided Kingdom*, pp. 1–25. 5. The Temple at Jerusalem. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article “Temple”; *International Encyclopedia*, article “Temple”; Kent, *History*, United Kingdom, ch. 13.

5.—THE WORLD-EMPIRE OF ASSYRIA

900–600 B.C.

68. The kingdom of Assyria since the days of its beginning (§ 39) had fought with Babylonia, at first for its own existence and then for mastery in the Mesopotamian valley. Meanwhile it had pushed up the Tigris and taken firm possession of the country between the upper course of the river and the eastern mountains. Besides the city of Assur, its chief centres were Calah, Arbela and Nineveh—the last destined to be the capital of the Empire. In the northeastern upland corner of Mesopotamia, life was not so easy as in Babylonia; the climate was colder, the land less fertile, wild beasts plentiful, the mountaineers threatening. Hence, the Assyrians had to fight with nature and man for their life, and by this training became hardy and warlike. They had to make their way by sword and spear rather than by plough and spade.

Assyria.

Early
Conditions.

69. One other means of advancement was open to them—that of commerce and trade. Their land lay across the

The Com-
mercial
Oppor-
tunity.

ways of traffic from east to west and from north to south. When by force of arms they had established themselves as a nation, they were tempted by commercial opportunities to extend their power beyond their borders. To wrest from Babylonia the possession of the upper Euphrates was one ambition, for that meant complete control of the rich trade with Syria and Egypt. Another source of wealth was to be found in the mountain-valleys to the north, in the country called Armenia, for through them ran the roads into Asia Minor. Thus the Assyrians were led on to wider conquests, until the whole world lay at their feet.

Assyrian
Expansion.

70. Their early efforts at expansion were checked by the Aramean migration into Mesopotamia (§ 54), which forced them back into their own borders and thus gave Syria its opportunity for independent empire. But by 900 B.C. the Arameans had settled down and Assyria lifted her head. Under a vigorous and fearless king, whose name was Ashurnatsirpal, the conquering movement began anew. He brought northern Mesopotamia, as far as the Euphrates, and southern Armenia under the yoke. His son crossed the Euphrates and made northern Syria subject. His great-grandson carried the Assyrian arms to the southwest as far as Philistia. Thus by 800 B.C. the Assyrian armies had marched throughout the length and breadth of Syria.

Toward the
West.

Conquest
of Babylon,
of Egypt

71. The next century saw the downfall of Babylonia, when the Assyrian conqueror, Tiglathpileser III, in 728 B.C., became king in Babylon. Fifty years later Egypt became subject (670 B.C.); in another generation Elam was conquered (645 B.C.). Meanwhile Assyrian armies had marched into the mountains surrounding the Mesopotamian plain. In the northwest they penetrated into

and of the
North.

Organization of the Assyrian Empire 53

Asia Minor; in the northeast they reached the Caspian sea. In extent and power Assyria was the mightiest Empire that the ancient world had known.

72. Assyria reached this splendid height during the reigns of four rulers, the first of whom was Sargon (722–705 B.C.), who was followed in regular succession by Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.), Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.), and Ashurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), each the son of his predecessor. Under these kings Assyria became an imperial state. Conquered countries were organized into districts under the rule of an imperial officer who had a military force at his command and was responsible for order and peace; he collected the taxes and administered justice. Such districts we call Provinces. Assyria was the first to introduce provincial government—a great advance in imperial administration. The Assyrians also invented the plan of removing the inhabitants of a city or district from their homes and putting in their places other people from a distant part of the Empire. This is called Deportation. It destroyed the old feeling of local patriotism and made people more willing to accept the rule of the central government. Thus the Empire was built up solidly and all parts of it united under the rule of the great king at Nineveh.

73. That Assyria's government of conquered countries was not perfect is shown by the many rebellions that arose among them. Whenever they had the slightest encouragement to revolt, they flew to arms. Thus Syria was constantly being stirred up by Egypt, which during these three centuries had been slowly growing stronger and was trying to get back its lost empire. In 745 B.C. Damascus and Israel joined in such rebellion; as a result Tiglath-

Assyria at
its Height.

An Empire.

Provincial
Govern-
ment.

Rebellions
of Vassals.

In the
West.

pileser III put an end to Damascus and severely punished Israel. The latter, however, rebelled again, and perished at the hands of Sargon in 722 B.C. All the better classes of citizens were deported and the state became an Assyrian province.

The king describes his capture of Samaria and punishment of Israel in these words: "The city of Samaria I besieged; 27,290 inhabitants of it I carried away captive; fifty chariots in it I took for myself, but the remainder (of the people) I allowed to retain their possessions. I appointed my governor over them, and the tribute of the preceding king I imposed upon them."

In Judah. **74.** Judah's king, Ahaz, had already submitted to Assyria, but his son and successor, Hezekiah, joined in a rebellion of the Syrian states, which brought Sennacherib on the scene in 701 B.C. He punished the rebels severely, but met with a disaster which compelled him to retire without capturing Jerusalem.

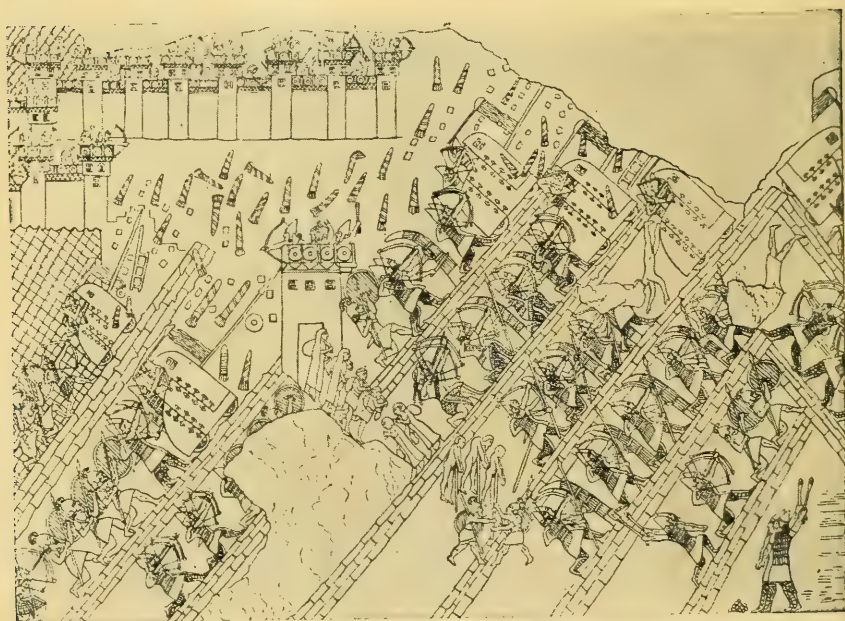
The Old Testament describes the disaster thus: "It came to pass that night that the angel of Jehovah went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib, king of Assyria, departed, and went and returned and dwelt at Nineveh" (2 Kings 19: 35, 36).

**In Baby-
lonia.**

75. A mighty revolt arose in Babylonia against Ashurbanipal. The Kaldi (§ 54) had been unceasing enemies of Assyria ever since her entrance into Babylonia, and now secured the aid of the Elamites (§ 9). At this time a brother of the Assyrian king was governor of Babylonia; he made common cause with them and invited other subject peoples to join the conspiracy. The storm broke in 652 B.C.; only by the most tremendous efforts did Ashur-



An Assyrian Relief. Hunting Scene



An Assyrian Relief. Battle Scene, the Storming of a City
TYPICAL ASSYRIAN SCENES

banipal gain the victory. The faithless brother perished in the flames of his palace, and the other rebels, with their allies, were fearfully punished.

76. The kings of the family of Sargon were wealthy and proud monarchs. Magnificent palaces were built by them at Nineveh. Sargon founded in connection with his palace a city capable of holding 80,000 people. The palace itself filled twenty-five acres and had at least two hundred rooms. The halls were lined with sculptured slabs of alabaster picturing the king's campaigns; at either side of the great door-ways stood mighty winged bulls carved in stone. The royal temple-tower with seven stories, each story faced with tiles of a color different from that of the others, rose out of the palace court one hundred and forty feet high. Inscriptions describing the mighty deeds of the kings in war and peace were written on the palace walls or on great monuments standing in the courts. In the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh was a library consisting of tens of thousands of clay books arranged on shelves. They consisted in part of official documents and also of the choicest religious, historical and scientific literature of the Babylonian and Assyrian world. Ashurbanipal tells us of his youthful training, how "he acquired the wisdom of (the god) Nabu, learned all the knowledge of writing of all the scribes, and learned how to shoot with the bow, to ride on horses and in chariots and to hold the reins." The Assyrians, however, were a practical, not a literary, people; they were content to accept all the learning of the Babylonians and did not add to it. Their language, their art, their religion, all follow Babylonian models. The god Ashur, the lord and patron of the state, the leader of the armies in war, stood at the head of the

Assyrian
Civiliza-
tion.

Architect-
ure.

Sculpture.

Libraries.

The Debt to
Babylon.

gods, the rest of whom have the same names and characteristics as those of Babylonia.

Assyrians
as Admin-
istrators.

77. The Assyrians were good warriors and excellent administrators. They knew how to conquer and how to rule better than any people that had hitherto appeared. They broke down the separate nations of the east and welded them into a unity. They spread abroad the civilization of the east throughout the Empire and extended commerce. But they did not know how to attach conquered peoples to themselves and give them something to do beyond paying taxes. They were just, but not generous; toward rebels and obstinate enemies they were outrageously cruel. Hence their Empire, although superior to all its predecessors, did not endure.

The Fatal
Weakness.

Ashurnatsirpal describes the punishment of a rebellious city as follows: "I drew near to the city of Tela. The city was very strong; three walls surrounded it. The inhabitants trusted to their strong walls and numerous soldiers; they did not come down or embrace my feet. With battle and slaughter I assaulted and took the city. Three thousand warriors I slew in battle. Their booty and possessions, cattle, sheep, I carried away; many captives I burned with fire. Many of their soldiers I took alive; of some I cut off hands and limbs; of others the noses, ears, and arms; of many soldiers I put out the eyes. I reared a column of the living and a column of heads. I hung up on high their heads on trees in the vicinity of their city. Their boys and girls I burned up in the flame. I devastated the city, dug it up, in fire burned it; I annihilated it."

The Fall of
the Assy-
rian Em-
pire.

78. The fall of Assyria was sudden and startling. At the death of Ashurbanipal, in 626 B.C., the Empire seemed strong. But on the eastern mountains the Medes had been gathering from the far east, ready to descend upon the plains in irresistible power. For a time Assyria beat them off, but they returned. At last the province of Baby-

lonia broke away and allied itself with the Medes. This was the finishing stroke. The next assault was successful. Nineveh was taken in 606 B.C., and, with its capture, Assyria vanished. So complete was its collapse that the very site and name of Nineveh disappeared from the knowledge of mankind, only to be recovered by the investigations of scholars and travellers in the last century.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRES

1. The First Kingdoms in Babylonia and Egypt. 2. The Early Babylonian Empire. 3. The Egyptian Empire. 4. The Syrian Empires.
5. THE WORLD-EMPIRE OF ASSYRIA, 900-600 B.C.
 1. Origin—early conditions of land and people—the commercial opportunity. 2. Expansion—westward—southward—to Egypt—to the north. 3. The Assyrian Empire—extent—imperial rulers—organization—rebellions in west, in Babylon. 4. Assyrian civilization—architecture—sculpture—libraries—debt to Babylon—administration—its weakness. 5. Fall of Assyrian Empire.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what were the following places noted: Samaria, Assur, Nineveh, Tyre? 2. For what were the following famous: Sargon of Assyria, Sargon of Agade, Ashurbanipal, Ramses II? 3. What is meant by province, colony, shekel? 4. When did Sargon of Assyria live? 5. What is the date of the fall of Nineveh? 6. What is the difference between Syria and Assyria?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Rise of Assyria. Murison, *Babylonia and Assyria*, ch. 3; Goodspeed, §§ 108-112. 2. The Kings of the House of Ashurnatsirpal. Goodspeed, §§ 158-184. 3. The Dynasty of Sargon. Murison, *Babylonia and Assyria*, §§ 36-58; Goodspeed, §§ 203-263. 4. The Fall of Assyria. Goodspeed, §§ 264-273; Murison, *Babylonia and Assyria*, §§ 59-61. 5. The Palace of Sargon. Goodspeed, § 215; Ragozin, *Assyria*, pp. 278-294; Maspero, *Ancient*

Egypt and Assyria, ch. 11. 6. The Library of Ashurbanipal. Ragozin, Chaldea, Introduction, ch. 4; Maspero, Ancient Egypt and Assyria, ch. 16. 7. "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold:" Does this line of Byron justly characterize Assyrian warfare?

6.—THE MEDIAN AND KALDEAN EMPIRES

600–538 B.C.

Medes and
Babyloni-
ans Heirs
of Assyria.

79. The Medes, whose sudden attack overthrew the Assyrian Empire, had been sifting into the eastern mountains for more than a century. They were the advance guard of a migration of Indo-Germanic peoples (§ 9) which was to overwhelm the Semitic world (§ 7) and usher in a new era. Their alliance with the rebellious province of Babylonia brought about Assyria's fall and meant the division of the world between the two victors. The Medes received the eastern and northern mountain regions, stretching from the Persian gulf to Asia Minor. The Babylonians obtained the Mesopotamian valley west of the Tigris and the Mediterranean coast-lands. Thus two Empires sprang up where Assyria had once ruled.

The Kal-
dean Em-
pire.

Nebuchad-
rezzar.

80. Babylonia's rebellion against Assyria really marked the victory of the Kaldi (§ 54) in their long struggle with the Assyrians. The new Babylonian Empire therefore was a Kaldean Empire. It had a short career of splendor under its greatest king, Nebuchadrezzar (605–562 B.C.), who, secure from outside attack by his alliance with the Medes, devoted himself to the strengthening of his Empire and the restoration of the land and cities of Babylonia. He had trouble with the subject kingdom of Judah, which rebelled several times and was finally destroyed, its capital,

Jerusalem, burned to the ground and the Jews deported to Babylonia (586 B.C.). There they soon became an industrious and wealthy part of the population. The king spent vast sums of money in fortifying and beautifying the city of Babylon. He surrounded it with a triple wall, built splendid palaces and made magnificent gardens for his Median wife. Babylon in his time was the largest, richest and most wonderful city of the Ancient World.

End of
Judah.

81. Meanwhile the Median Empire had been having a checkered experience. In the far northwest it had come into conflict with the expanding Empire of Lydia, which had reduced all Asia Minor under its yoke. From the north new migrations of Scythians, a wild nomadic folk from central Asia, poured over the borders. In the east and south a people closely related to the Medes was growing in numbers and importance. This people, called the Persians, was for a time in subjection to the Medes. Under the leadership of a petty prince called Cyrus they rose up against their Median lords and succeeded in overthrowing them. In the year 550 B.C. Cyrus became king of the combined peoples and founded the Persian Empire.

The
Median
Empire.

Over-
thrown by
Cyrus.

82. The Babylonian rulers that followed Nebuchadrezzar set themselves with the other powers of the world in opposition to Cyrus. Lydia, Egypt and even the leading Greek state, Sparta, joined with them in the endeavor to put a stop to his victorious career. It was all in vain. He defeated Croesus, king of Lydia, and captured him and his capital, Sardis (545 B.C.). Babylon was then attacked, and yielded to him in 538 B.C. Thus the last Semitic Empire of the Mesopotamian valley passed away and a new race took the reins of government over a wider world than had ever fallen within the bounds of an ancient state.

The Coali-
tion against
Cyrus.

Its Over-
throw.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRES

1. The First Kingdoms in Babylonia and Egypt. 2. The Early Babylonian Empire. 3. The Egyptian Empire. 4. The Syrian Empires. 5. The World-Empire of Assyria.
6. THE MEDIAN AND KALDEAN EMPIRES, 600-538 B.C.
 1. The division of Assyria's empire. 2. The Kaldean Empire—why Kaldean?—Nebuchadrezzar—war with Judah—Babylon.
 3. The Median Empire—expansion—overthrown by Cyrus.
 4. Cyrus victor over all—fall of Babylon.

7.—THE WORLD-EMPIRE OF PERSIA: ITS FOUNDING AND ORGANIZATION

550-500 B.C.

The New
Elements.

The
Persian
Land and
People.

83. Not only did the Persians belong to another race than the Semites of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, but the centre of empire was shifted by them farther to the east. This centre was the broad and lofty region east of the Tigris, from which the Zagros mountains rise. These consist of a series of high ridges running north and south with fertile valleys between. The whole country lay on an average 4,000 feet above the sea and suffered from wide extremes of climate. The people who inhabited it were vigorous and hardy, simple in manners, given to the raising of cattle and horses, or, in the few fertile valleys, to agriculture. Such were the Medes and Persians. Their capitals lay in this region—Ecbatana in the north, Persepolis in the east and Susa in the west. From this lofty land they went forth east and west to conquest and the founding of their Empire.

84. To the east lay the mighty table-land of Iran—1,000 miles long and 700 miles wide—girt about with high mountains. The greater part of it is desert; only in the north and northeast are fertile districts. On the slopes of the northern range along the southeastern coast of the Caspian sea lay Hyrcania; farther to the east was Parthia; far to the northeast in the valleys of the lofty eastern mountains on the route leading over to India was the rich land of Bactria. The western lands are familiar to us—the Mesopotamian valley, the coast-lands of the eastern Mediterranean leading down to Egypt, and in the northwest, Armenia, stretching away to the table-land of Asia Minor and the coasts of the Ægean sea. Such was the prospect opening before the Persians, eager to enter into the struggle for the possession of these broad lands.

Their
Outlook.

85. Cyrus, as we have seen, was the leader of the Persians in this world-campaign; his conquest of the Empires of Media, Lydia and Babylonia has already been described. During the remainder of his career he seems to have added the eastern lands to his domain and is said to have died in battle with an insignificant folk on the far northeastern borders (530 B.C.). At the time of his death his eldest son, Cambyses, was the heir to the throne, and a younger son, Bardiya, was governor of the northeastern lands. Cyrus made a deep impression upon the men of his own and of later times. A Jewish prophet hailed him as the one called by Jehovah to deliver the Jews from their Babylonian captivity. The Greek, Herodotus, calls him the father of his people, and says that in the estimation of the Persians he was above all comparison, being of all those of his time the bravest and the best beloved.

Cyrus.

His Career.

His Character.

86. For Cambyses, his successor (530–522 B.C.), one

Cambyses.

region remained unconquered—Egypt. This he added to his domains. Before departing for Egypt he had caused Bardiya to be put to death for fear of his attempting to seize the throne. But this did not prevent a pretender named Gaumata from stirring up rebellion during his absence in Egypt, and Cambyses died while returning to punish him. It seemed that the pretender might succeed, but Darius, a cousin of Cambyses, was able to kill the rebel and after fierce struggles in the heart of the realm to secure the throne. He ruled for thirty-five years (521-486 B.C.) with splendid vigor and wise statesmanship.

Darius.

The Organ-
ization of
the Empire.

87. Persia, on the accession of Darius, occupied the entire known world of the East. This world was a natural geographical whole, some 3,000 miles in length and from 500 to 1,500 miles in width, surrounded for the most part by seas, mountains or deserts—"more than half the size of modern Europe." But little attention as yet had been given to its organization. This was the first and most memorable work of Darius. He followed the Assyrian system (§ 72) and improved upon it. The Empire was divided into about twenty provinces, each in charge of an official called the satrap. Two assistants were given him, a secretary and a general. All were appointed by the king; each was independent of the others and kept watch upon them. This arrangement made the three efficient and kept them faithful. Each province had to pay taxes according to its ability; so wisely was the income from all sources organized that the sum realized was not far from a billion dollars yearly. A system of coinage was instituted and three royal coins were minted—the gold daric (\$5), the silver stater (50 cents) and the silver drachma (25 cents). The army was made up of an Imperial

Officials

Taxes

Army.





guard, of native Medes and Persians, the "Immortals," and of troops from the various provinces. The strongest corps of the service was the cavalry armed with the bow. In one thing especially the Persian government was superior to those that had gone before—in its provincial system. The kings took special interest in the affairs of the province to secure its peace and prosperity. Its customs and religion were not interfered with. The satrap was enjoined to secure justice and protection to the inhabitants. Trade was encouraged. Roads were built, and travel was made safe and comfortable. A royal post carried messages from the capital over these roads to the ends of the Empire.

Care of
Provinces.

Herodotus describes the Royal Post in these words: There is nothing mortal which accomplishes a journey with more speed than these messengers, so skilfully has this been invented by the Persians: for they say that according to the number of the days of which the entire journey consists, so many horses and men are set at intervals, each man and horse appointed for a day's journey. Neither snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness of night prevents each one of these from accomplishing the task proposed to him with the very utmost speed. The first rides and delivers the message with which he is charged to the second, and the second to the third; and so it goes through handed from one to the other.

88. Physically the early Persians were great, strong men, with thick hair and beard, clear-eyed and active; in character they were pure-hearted and brave. The common people were intensely devoted to their chiefs, who exhibited the characteristic Persian virtues at their highest. Herodotus tells us that the training of the sons of the nobles consisted in riding, shooting the bow and speaking the truth. Their religion was lofty and inspiring. By

The Early
Persians.

Their
Religion.

their prophet Zoroaster, who lived about 600 B.C., they were taught that two supreme divine Powers were in conflict for the mastery of the world—the Power of Good and the Power of Evil. Zoroaster called upon them to choose the Good and fight for him against the Evil, to hate the Lie and to love the Truth. Thus, all life was for them a moral conflict, brightened by the faith that the Good and True would finally be victorious. This simple and sublime doctrine made them men of courage, nobility and virtue, conscious of a mission to fulfil in the world.

Effect of
Culture on
Them.

89. But they were still an uncultivated folk. When they came into possession of the wide Eastern world with its higher culture and its lower morals, they were gradually corrupted. They accepted the higher culture, but they were also affected by the lower morality. This change appears prominently in the royal court. The Babylonian forms of court-life were adopted. Persian devotion to the chief became slavish subjection to the Great King, whose slightest wish was law. The sudden increase of wealth, following upon the possession of the world, produced luxury and feebleness. In the realm of art and architecture the ideals and achievements of Assyria and Egypt were the models. Magnificent royal palaces at Susa and Persepolis show little if anything that is new in artistic style. An imposing grandeur appears, rising out of the combination of all the old forms that the artists of the Semitic world had worked out, but that is all. Of course these changes in manners and culture came slowly. Later history was to reveal how low the Persians were to fall before their work was done and their Empire was swept away.

90. Besides his scheme of organization, Darius extended

his Empire by means of war. In the far east he advanced into India and added the valley of the Indus river to his dominions. In the west he marched through Asia Minor across the Bosphorus to attack the Scythians (515 B.C.). This expedition brought him into close contact with the Greeks. It was the most important among a series of events which led to the wars between the Persian Empire and the Greek States. With these wars the Greeks came fully into the current of the world's history, to hold, henceforth, the commanding position. Hence the centre of our study shifts from the east to the west, from Persia to Greece. The old world of Asia falls back; the new world of Europe takes its place (500 B.C.).

Wars of
Darius.

Contact
with
Greece.

A New Age.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

I. THE EASTERN EMPIRES

1. The First Kingdoms in Babylonia and Egypt. 2. The Early Babylonian Empire. 3. The Egyptian Empire. 4. The Syrian Empires. 5. The World-Empire of Assyria. 6. The Median and Kaldean Empires.
7. THE WORLD-EMPIRE OF PERSIA; Early Period, 550-500 B.C.
 1. The new elements—land—people—outlook. 2. The kings—Cyrus, career and character—Cambyses—Darius. 3. Organization—officials—divisions—taxes—coinage—army—care of provinces. 4. Social life—character of people—religion—effect of culture. 5. Wars of Darius—contact with Greece—its meaning.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what were the following famous: Cyrus, Nebuchadrezzar, Darius? 2. Who were the Scythians, the Lydians, the Jews, the Kaldi? 3. For what are the following noted: Sardis, Carthage, Susa, Tyre, Persepolis? 4. What is meant by drachma, papyrus, satrap, province? 5. When did Nebuchadrezzar live? 6. When did Cyrus live?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Babylon of Nebuchadrezzar. Murison, Babylonia and Assyria,

§ 67; Goodspeed, §§ 299-303; Ragozin, Media, etc., ch. 9. 2. **The Victories of Cyrus.** Ragozin, Media, etc., ch. 11. 3. **The Story of the Accession of Darius.** Herodotus, Book II, pp. 67-88; Ragozin, Media, etc., ch. 13. 4. **The Organization of the Persian Empire.** Sayce, Ancient Empires, pp. 247-250; Ragozin, Media, etc., pp. 384-391. 5. **The Scythian Expedition of Darius.** Herodotus, Book IV, pp. 1-142; Ragozin, Media, etc., pp. 412-429. 6. **The Palaces of Persepolis.** Sayce, Ancient Empires, pp. 270-272; Ragozin, Media, etc., pp. 391-411.

Meaning of
Oriental
History.

91. Thus the history of the supremacy of the Ancient East comes to an end. In gathering up the meaning of it we notice several important facts:

Beginnings.

1. It was a time of Beginnings in government, in the arts of life, in science, in literature and in religion. "All beginnings are difficult," says the Greek proverb. Most difficult and therefore most important and instructive were these beginnings of mankind in learning how to live in the world and in preparing the way for something better.

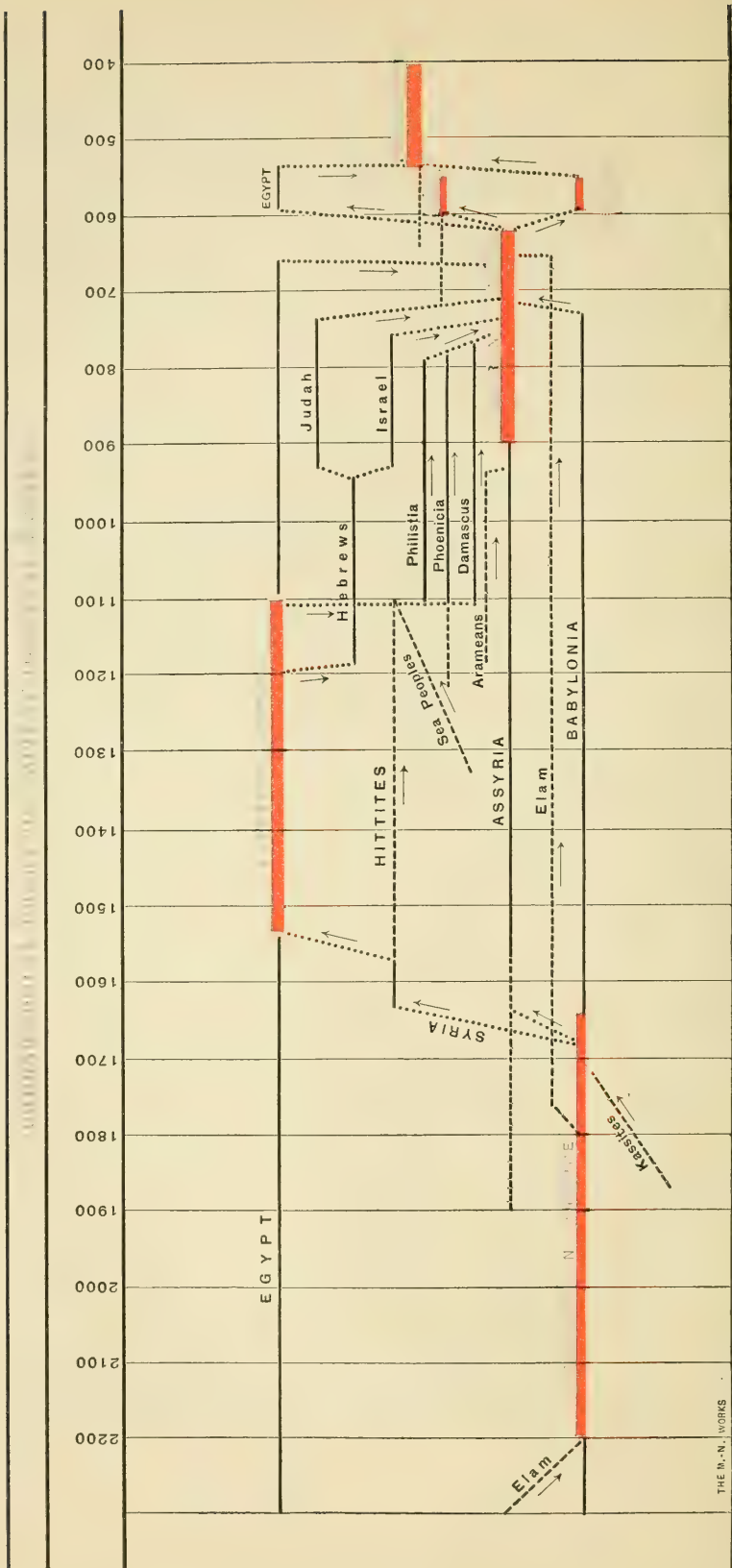
Progress.

2. It was an age of Progress. Men were not content with what they had first gained, but kept seeking something better. They found out better methods of getting a living and making war, of building cities and governing states, of writing, of doing business, and of enjoying themselves. They learned more about themselves, about their relations to one another, to the world in which they lived and to the higher powers.

Govern-
ment.

3. The Forms and Ideals of Government were valuable and instructive. The fundamental institution was Monarchy. The king was the head of the State; he *was* the State. The purpose of the state was threefold: the worship of the gods, the glory of the king and the maintenance of justice for the citizens. The one produced stately tem-

Monarchy.



Explanation: The beginning and course of a State or People are marked by a black line, — or — · — · —, the latter signifying uncertainty as to its history; where the black changes to red, the change of a State to an Empire is indicated and its era of ascendancy in the Oriental world. Dots · · · · · mark the passing of one People or State out of or into another, either as conqueror or conquered, the direction of movement being shown by an arrow.

ples, artistic work of every sort, literature and a measure of order and comfort in the community. The second gave rise to the Imperial States whose history we have followed, with their wealth, their palaces, their armies. The third is the source of those systems of law and the arrangements for prosperity and progress that call for wonder and admiration. Especially is the notion of Universal Empire, entertained by the ancient rulers and in part realized by some of them, one of the most powerful and permanent ideals which the world has known. Empire.

4. In this age the foundations were laid for many Arts and Sciences. Work done by these men in the precious metals, in stone and wood, has in some respects never been surpassed. Arithmetic, chronology, grammar, engineering, astronomy and metrology, not to speak of other sciences, reached no mean height of development among them. Culture.

5. Among these peoples Religion had a supreme place and power. The gods were in and through all things, and all things were for their glory. A high idea of the divine power prevailed; in course of time the gods came to be known as guardians of right and truth. By one of these peoples the great array of deities was condensed into two divine powers, one of good and one of evil, standing over against each other; these men looked confidently for the final victory of the good god and were encouraged thereby. Yet another people, Israel, believed in one God alone, the Lord of Righteousness and Mercy; his prophets taught a knowledge of him which the world has never lost and never surpassed. In a later day it became the foundation of the Christian faith, professed by the nations of the western world. Religion.

Relation to
Ourselves.

6. In a word, the history of these peoples is important because the record and influence of all their achievements have passed on from the east to the west and have entered into our life. Even their errors and mistakes, their sin and its punishment, contain instructive lessons for ourselves. What they have achieved of good and abiding worth is in large measure the source of our higher life, our science, our art, our governments and our religion.

GENERAL REVIEW OF PART I

TOPICS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION. 1. What were the chief influences of the geography of the Oriental world upon its history? See §§ 5, 6, 8, 35, 56, 68, 69, 83, 84. 2. How did the invasions of the desert and mountain tribes affect the history of the Oriental world? See §§ 9, 10, 38, 40, 51, 54, 61, 79, 81. 3. What were the chief commercial products of the Oriental world and from what countries did each come? See §§ 18, 19, 20, 58, 59. 4. What special contribution to modern civilization was made by each of the great peoples studied? 5. Trace the growth of government in the Oriental world, showing how new ideas were added from time to time. See §§ 12, 13, 14, 17, 21, 42, 45, 58, 64, 72, 87. 6. What were the main points of difference between the various religions of the Oriental world? See §§ 34, 49, 61, 88.

MAP AND PICTURE EXERCISES.* 1. Compare Babylonian-Assyrian and Egyptian architecture as illustrated in Plate IV. 2. Enumerate such defects in Egyptian art as appear in Plates III, XIII. 3. From a study of Plate V, what subjects were most successfully treated by the Assyrian artists? How does this illustrate the national character? 4. Draw an outline map from memory of the field of ancient Oriental history, locating as many places and countries mentioned as possible.

TOPICS FOR WRITTEN PAPERS. 1. The Pyramids. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 363-377; *Egyptian Archaeology*, ch. 3; Rawlinson, *Story of Egypt*, ch. 4; *History of*

*See Appendix II and Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*, pp. 1-46.

Egypt, ch. 7; Encyclopedia Britannica, article "Egypt" (sub-division "Pyramids"). 2. Compare the laws of Hammurabi given in the text with the laws of the Hebrews contained in Exodus, chs. 21-23; Deuteronomy 15: 12-14; 19: 16-21. See also *The Biblical World*, March, 1903, pp. 175-190. 3. What did the ancient Oriental people think of the world? Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 16-22; Encyclopedia Britannica, article "Cosmology." 4. Write an account of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt from the standpoint of an Egyptian, using the account given in Exodus, chs. 1-14, as the basis of your study. 5. What nations had stories of the flood? Ragozin, *Story of Chaldea*, ch. 6; Encyclopedia Britannica, article "Cosmology," also "Deluge." 6. What did the Nile do for Egypt? Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, ch. 1; Rawlinson, *Story of Egypt*, ch. 1; Encyclopedia Britannica, article "Egypt." 7. The Education of an Assyrian Boy. Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, ch. 3; Goodspeed, *History of Babylonians and Assyrians*, § 261. 8. Life and Times of Nebuchadnezzar. Goodspeed, Part IV, chs. 2-3; Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, pp. 513-568; Harper, in *Biblical World*, July, 1899; Ragozin, *Media, etc.*, ch. 9.

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

500-200 B.C.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

Physical
Geography
of Greece.

92. From the vast plains, broad rivers, mighty mountain-chains, trackless deserts, high table-lands, magnificent empires of the Ancient East—where the works of nature and man alike are huge, massive, steadfast and overpowering, and history is measured by centuries or even millenniums—we turn to a very different scene in passing westward across the Ægean sea to Greece. A petty peninsula, its rivers are rushing torrents on which no ship can sail, and its plains are deep, narrow basins between high ridges and peaks. Taken in its fullest extent it is less than half as large as the State of Illinois. Still, though Greece is small, it has striking natural characteristics. The lack of rivers is made up by innumerable bays and inlets from the sea, so that there is no spot of land which is more than forty miles from it. Half-way down the peninsula on its western side a deep gulf—the gulf of Corinth—almost cuts off the southern part, the Peloponnesus, while on the south are two bays, and on the east five, one of which actually parts Eubœa from the mainland. Its mountains, though pursuing a general course from northwest to southeast, fly off in every direction from the Pindus range in the north to meet the sea, cutting the land up into a variety of inde-





pendent valleys and glens, and towering above them in ridges and peaks from five thousand to eight thousand feet in height, sometimes bare and stern, often thickly wooded or crowned with snow. Over sea, valley and mountain gleams a brilliant sky; the play of light and shade upon the varied scene is indescribably beautiful. From the points of bold promontories that stand out into the Ægean sea, islands, large and small, summits of lost mountain-peaks, push forth one after the other toward the eastward and go to meet similar islands that dot the shores of Asia Minor. Far to the south, Crete lies across the foot of the sea, sixty miles from the extremity of the Peloponnesus and barely twice as far from Asia Minor.

93. Observe what the position of Greece and her relation to the sea meant for the life and history of her people. The Ægean, pushing far upward, received the trade of the northwest, while it also opened into the Black sea, down to the northern and eastern shores of which came the roads from the far northeast. The bays on the eastern side of Greece, coupled with the innumerable islands that stretched across the sea, made access easy for men coming from the east, the early home of civilization. Thus Greece lay at the very spot where the ways of progress met, from north and east and south, and extended welcoming hands to the bearers of the world's best gifts. Yet the land was also protected. No hostile force could easily come down through the high mountains of the north. Should ships bring enemies, the coasts alone could be seized; the interior remained easily defensible. Moreover, intercourse by land in Greece, difficult on account of the mountains, was made easy by inlets from the sea. Hence the Greeks, like the Phœ-

Its Influence on Greek History.

On Relations to the World Without.

nicians of the eastern Mediterranean (§ 56), were early thrust forth on the water, and learned how to defend their shores as well as to engage in commerce with outside peoples. Thus Greece was at the same time an accessible and a defensible land.

On the
Politics of
Greece.

94. The mountains had another important influence on Greek history. The narrow secluded valleys, into which they broke up the land, became seats of petty communities, each independent of the other, each zealous to maintain its own independence and each protected in its separateness by the mountain barriers which girt it about. Hence, for a long period, the history of Greece is a history of a variety of small states; unity of political life was the last thing secured and, when secured, was with difficulty maintained. On the other hand, this separateness in Greek political life had its advantages. A wonderful variety in forms of society and politics was produced, each state working out its own local problems with substantial freedom from interference and with the incitement of healthy rivalry with its neighbors.

On the
Greek
Character.

95. In such physical conditions and relations a peculiar type of man was produced that the world had not seen before. In these little communities the single man counted for much. The individual was not lost in the crowd; hence individuality was an early trait of the Greek character. Devotion to his own state and pride in its independence gave him patriotism and a love of freedom. The beauty and variety of the natural world all about bred in him sensitiveness to form and color, while its steep, narrow and rugged ways made him healthy, strong and supple. All his circumstances called for quickness of body and mind, stimulated him to thought and action,

and brought out a variety of resource and achievement that has been the admiration and the inspiration of mankind. Thus it has been well said that "the Greeks owed their greatness largely to the country in which it was their fortune to dwell."

96. The Greeks belonged to the Indo-European family (§ 9), as is indicated by their language. If we may judge from the ancient statues and from the prevailing Greek type of to-day, they were tall and spare in build, with oval face, long straight nose, bright large eye, fair complexion, of graceful and elastic carriage and a general harmony of form, free from signal excess or defect of any one characteristic. They were, in disposition, genial and sunny, imaginative and inquiring, temperate and chaste, vibrating between reasonableness and emotion, with an ambition which was not always nice about the means to gain its end, and a vivacity which leaned toward fickleness.

The Greek
People.

97. Thus situated and endowed, the Greeks made their history. Of this history we now are to take a brief survey in advance of its fuller treatment.*

Course of
Greek
History.

When civilization began in Greece is unknown. Our first knowledge reveals the dim outlines of states on the coasts and islands of the Ægean sea, ruled over by kings with much splendor; the arts of peace and war were far advanced; commerce with one another and with the east was flourishing. The cities of Mycenæ and Troy and those upon the island of Crete were the chief centres; the period is sometimes called the Mycenæan Age (to about 1000 B.C.). About the beginning of the first millennium hordes of migrating peoples descended from northwest Greece, chief among whom were the Dorians. Their rude onslaught broke up the kingdoms and the civilization of the age, cut off Greece from relations with the east and compelled the building up of new political and social institutions.

1. Begin-
nings.

(1) The
Mycenæan
Age.

* See Preface for suggestions as to the handling of this section.

(2) The
Middle Age.

This process of inner development went on for three centuries. The period may be called the Middle Age (1000-700 B.C.), since it lies between the earlier and the later bloom of Greek life. By the seventh century the results of the changes wrought began clearly to appear; commerce revived; city-states came forward, ruled over by aristocracies; struggles for the political rights of citizens followed. The outcome was the general predominance of popular government at home and the extension of Greek life and influence abroad over the Ægean sea and beyond. Thus Greece was brought into contact with the eastern world again and, as never before, became a factor in world politics. This period of two centuries may be called the Age of Political Adjustment and Outward Expansion (700-500 B.C.).

(3) Age of
Adjustment
and Expan-
sion.2. First
Attempts at
Empire.

But contact with the eastern world soon came to be, in particular, a conflict with the Persian Empire—a conflict that, with intervals of peace, lasted for nearly two centuries (500-331 B.C.). To meet Persian attack, the separate Greek states united under the leadership of certain cities. These cities, taking advantage of the opportunity, sought to turn their leadership into imperial rule. First came the Empire of Athens over the states on the Ægean. After a period of splendor it fell, in 404 B.C. Sparta followed the example of Athens and was herself imitated by Thebes, but these projects of empire lasted but a brief time (to 365 B.C.). Meanwhile the Greek world of the far west was united under the rule of the city of Syracuse in an empire which flourished for a season. Finally, Macedonia, once hardly recognized as a part of Greece, gained, under King Philip, control over the Greek states.

3. Empires
of Alexan-
der and His
Successors.

His son Alexander led the Greeks out against Persia in a final struggle which ended in the overthrow of Persia (331 B.C.). He established in its stead an Empire, embracing both Greece and Persia, the worthiest as well as the largest imperial state thus far appearing in history. Alexander's Empire endured only during his lifetime (331-323 B.C.). After his death it was divided among his generals, who finally set up three Empires on its ruins—the Macedonian, ruling over Macedonia and the Greek states; the Syrian, ruling from Antioch over Syria and the East; the Egyptian, ruling over Egypt and part of Palestine. These Empires had endured scarcely a century when, from Italy, a new power, Rome, appeared on the scene. While the three Empires were steadily declining,

Rome had been rising. She had slowly become entangled in the affairs of the east. Soon she took a leading part in them. Thus the centre of power moved toward Italy. The history of the Greek world was merged into that of Rome (200 B.C.).

98. Thus we have the following main divisions of this portion of our history:

The
Main
Divisions.

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES: TO 200 B.C.

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion in East and West: to 500 B.C.
 - (1) The Mycenæan Age: to 1000 B.C.
 - (2) The Middle Age: 1000-700 B.C.
 - (3) The Age of Political Adjustment and Outward Expansion: 700-500 B.C.
2. The First Attempts at Empire—Athenian, Spartan, Theban and Macedonian: 500-331 B.C.
3. The Empires of Alexander and his Successors, to the Appearance of Rome in the East: 331-200 B.C.

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- SHUCKBURGH. *History of the Greeks*. Macmillan Co. Conventional in arrangement but clearly and concisely written.
- MOREY. *Outlines of Greek History*. American Book Co. A little fragmentary, dealing in detail with the growth of civilization, rather than with outward history.

* For previous bibliographies see pp. 4, 10. For bibliography for advanced students and teachers, see Appendix I.

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1.—THE BEGINNINGS OF GREECE AND ITS EXPANSION IN EAST AND WEST

TO 500 B.C.

General
Character
of the
Period.

99. The part taken by Greece in the history of the Ancient World does not become important until something like two thousand years of its life have passed away. Of this long stretch of time we have comparatively little knowledge. In the early part of it only a gleam of light



**CENTERS OF
MYCENAEAN
CIVILIZATION.**

AEGEAN SEA

ASIA
MINOR

ITALY

CHIOS
RHODES

here and there appears; even the last two centuries of it (700–500 B.C.) are quite imperfectly known. It was a time of beginnings, of formation, during which the Greek people were working out those ideals of social and political life which make their history so unique and instructive, and by which they were prepared to enter into the larger world and do their work in the upbuilding of mankind.

100. One of the turning-points in this period of beginnings comes about the year 1000 B.C. Before that time Greece must have had a wonderful history, but we can understand only a little of it, since no written records of it have been preserved. In this far-off time the later Greeks laid the scenes of many of their beautiful poems and tales of gods and heroes, but they themselves had no certain knowledge of what really occurred there. So long as we had only these wonderful stories to depend on, we called these ages the “Heroic Period” or the “Age of Fable” or of “Myth”—which was as much as to say that nothing really historical could be found out about them. But, recently, some extraordinary remains of the civilization of these times have been discovered by diggings in various localities of the Greek world. From these remains something certain about that ancient life can be known. The most important of these discoveries were made at Mycenæ, at Troy and in Crete. Other similar “finds” were unearthed at the heads of the bays along the eastern shore of Greece and upon islands of the Ægean. The prominence and significance of the discoveries at Mycenæ led scholars to call the age in which this civilization flourished the Mycenæan Age. The date of its highest bloom was about 1500 B.C. We shall describe briefly some of its characteristics.

(1) The
Mycenæan
Age.

The My-
cenæan
Remains
and Their
Story.

101. Political life was already well advanced. People lived in cities. In the centre of the city was a castle, built high with strong defences; within it a palace, large and beautiful, with many courts and chambers. Near the castle was the lofty royal tomb in the shape of a beehive, sunk into a side hill and richly adorned. The graves of the kings contained a profusion of treasure in gold and silver finely wrought into useful and ornamental objects. Such kings must have been powerful and rich; they ruled over wide territories and entered into relations with peoples round about. The objects found in the diggings illustrate the art of the time. There were masks of gold, cups of gold and silver, armlets, bracelets, beads, chains, diadems, earrings, necklaces, rings and vases—all of gold. There were bronze swords with inlaid work. There was glazed and painted pottery of various and striking patterns, decorated with scenes from land and sea. There were vases of alabaster, of marble and of terra-cotta. The working of scenes in low relief upon the gold cups,* the artistic coloring and designs upon the jars and vases, the mosaic patterns upon the walls, and the engraving upon the gems are proofs of a remarkable skill on the part of the workmen. The Mycenæan artist employed nearly every process known to modern art. One art, it seems, was not advanced, that of the sculptor. Only one work in stone deserves mention—the lions above the entrance to the palace of Mycenæ.

The Com-
mercial
Life of the
Age.

102. Everything points to a widely extended commercial activity in the Mycenæan Age. The fact that the objects just described are found on both sides of the Ægean sea and on the islands indicates that intercourse by sea had brought

* See Plate VI.

these peoples together. So wide was this intercourse that we might almost speak of a Mycenæan World. On the one side as far as Cyprus, on the other side in west Greece and even in Italy, are the products of this Mycenæan civilization found. The heart of it all seems to have been in the island of Crete at the city of Cnossos, whose fleets may be said to have controlled the trade of the Ægean and the eastern Mediterranean seas, before the Phœnicians had begun their sailing expeditions (§ 56). Commercial relations were also enjoyed with lands outside of the Mycenæan world. The amber beads found at Mycenæ may have come from the Baltic sea; the jade axes from China. The patterns and decorations upon pottery and palaces, upon swords and images, show the influence of the art of the Hittites (§ 9) and of the Egyptians; they testify to intercourse with these peoples. In Egypt itself Mycenæan pottery has been found; soldiers in Mycenæan armor are pictured on the walls of Egyptian temples of the time of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties (§ 44). Evidently Cretan ships sailed to Egypt with their wares, and their men served in Egyptian armies. We have already seen that, in this very age, a great migration of peoples from the borders of the Mycenæan world wrought havoc in the political world of western Asia (§§ 44, 51). How natural that these Mycenæan kings should fight with one another for wider empire! One of these wars, that of Mycenæ against Troy, was in the following period made the subject of many a heroic lay and forms the theme of the "Iliad" of Homer. Likewise, a picture of the wide Mycenæan sea-world, its interests, its perils and its powers, lies before us in Homer's "Odyssey." These poems, as we shall see, belong to the age that follows, but

Mycenæan
Wars.

they gather up the recollections and traditions of these splendid centuries. The Mycenæan age itself has left no literature. Its thoughts, so far as they are known, speak to us in the material objects dug up from its palaces and tombs.

The Dorian
Migration.

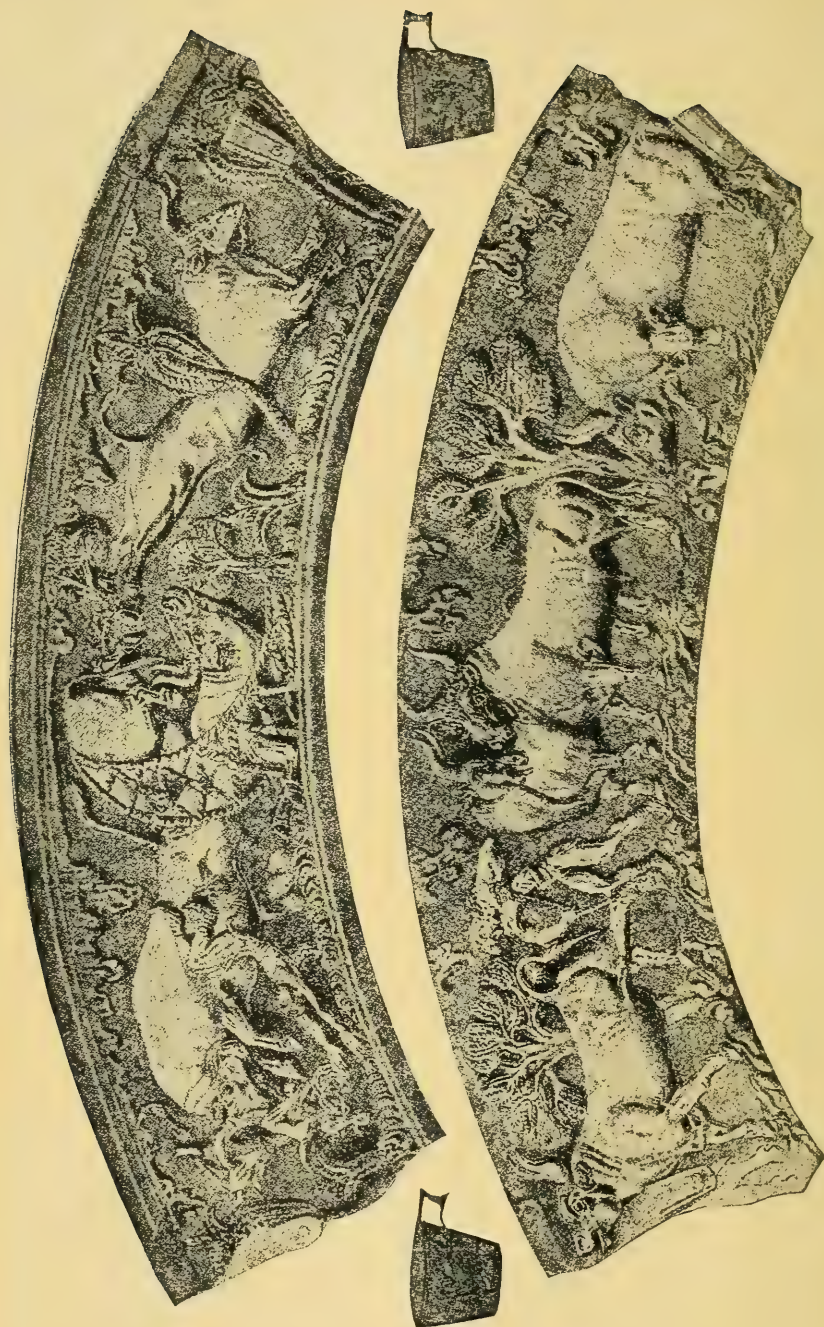
103. To what splendid heights the Mycenæan world might have reached no one can tell; upon the heart of it about 1000 B.C. fell a deadly blow. Up in the northwest corner of Greece some sort of a commotion took place among the rude peoples there, which set them moving toward the east and south. Their advance was irresistible. It resulted in the complete overthrow of the ruling powers in the Mycenæan strongholds and a transformation in all spheres of Greek life. Chief among these invading tribes were the Dorians, and their leaders were at the head of affairs in the centuries that followed. The seat of their power was the Peloponnesus, which henceforth became for a long time the centre of Greece. Similar migrations and shiftings of population in the following centuries threw the rest of the eastern communities of Greece into confusion. The Mycenæan world of Asia Minor and the islands was also disturbed, though, of course, not in a like degree. Many fled thither from before the intruders. In course of time the Dorians themselves settled upon the southern islands and the lower coasts of Asia Minor. The unity of the Mycenæan world was destroyed.

End of the
Mycenæan
Age.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

Preliminary Survey: Physical Geography of Greece—its influence (1) on the history both external and internal, (2) on Greek character—the Greek people—course of their history—its grand divisions.



RELIEFS FROM GOLD CUPS OF THE MYCENÆAN AGE

- I. THE BEGINNINGS OF GREECE AND ITS EXPANSION. Our knowledge of the earliest period and its sources—the Mycenæan Age—the remains and their story—Mycenæan commerce, its extent and character—wars and their memorials—how the age came to an end and when.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. What part do the following play in the physical geography of Greece: the *Ægean*, the *Pindus*, the gulf of *Corinth*? 2. For what are the following places noted: *Mycenæ*, *Troy*, *Cnossos*? 3. Locate from memory on an outline map the chief points at which remains of Mycenæan civilization have been found. 4. At about what time was the Mycenæan civilization at its height? 5. At about what time did the Dorian invasions occur?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. What was going on in the Oriental world between the above dates? 2. Compare the articles of commerce of the Mycenæan Greeks with those of the Phœnicians (§ 56). 3. Compare the effect of the Dorian invasion of Greece with that of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt (§§ 40-41). 4. What great difference do you notice between the principles of government of the early Greeks and those of the Semitic countries (§ 91)?

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104. In the new Greece that now came into being, civilization must in a sense begin all over again. The incomers were numerous; the old civilization was too weak to absorb and win its peaceful victory over them, as was the case in so many similar situations in the ancient East (§§ 38, 41).

(2) The
Middle
Age.

Its New
Beginning.

Occupations.

They came with their flocks and herds and for a time continued the old pastoral life. Apart from the raising and pasturing of their cattle, hunting and fighting were their favorite activities. But as they settled down, agriculture was taken up; fields were sown; vineyards planted; the fig and the olive cultivated. In time industries came in. At first, everything needed was made at home, but gradually the various trades appeared, the blacksmith, the potter, the carpenter, the leatherworker, the bowmaker and the spinner. For a long time any kind of industry was looked upon as unworthy of freemen. Even heralds, physicians, seers, singers, poets and jugglers were together counted as workmen and, though respected, had no social standing. First the warrior, and then the farmer, were the gentlemen of Greece.

Social and Political Elements.

105. The new-comers brought the tribal system with them into the Peloponnesus. In the tribe the members are bound together by a tie of blood-relationship. Each is the equal of his brother. The duties and privileges of each begin and end with his life in the tribe. He eats at the common table. He must be ever ready in arms at the call of the tribe to battle. If slain by an enemy, it rests upon his fellow-tribesmen to avenge him by killing any and all of the hostile tribe whose member took his life.* All property is held in common and is from time to time assigned by lot to the various families of the tribe. All religion is summed up in the worship of the tribal god, who leads, protects, prospers and aids the tribe in all its ways. At the head of the tribe is the King, the chief among equals, surrounded by his council, the Elders, men of valor over sixty years old. He leads the tribe in war;

* This is called the law of blood-revenge.

he is the Judge and the Priest in peace. The tribesmen, gathered in close array, armed for war, constitute the Public Assembly for the settlement of tribal affairs.

106. When these wandering tribes settled down in the narrow valleys of Greece, tribal unity was broken up. Each petty community began to live for itself. The land ceased to be held in common and each family to which a "lot" was assigned came to own it and, where possible, added more. Some families grew great and strong and began to claim superiority thereby. Other families grew poor and became dependent upon their richer neighbors. The strong became proud and called themselves *Aristoi*, "the best" people. Thus an "Aristocracy" grew up with its dependents. The noble head of an aristocratic family led his people in war and protected them in peace. He lived on his estates in rude luxury, surrounded by his family and dependents. The king soon began to find that this aristocracy was too strong for him; in time he lost his powers, one after the other, keeping at last only his religious functions. The aristocracy stepped into his place and ruled the state by a Council of chiefs, administering justice and making war. In this new situation the old tribal equality faded away. The Public Assembly, though still existent, had no power in the new Aristocratic State. The nobles were the state.

Rise of
Aristoc-
racy.

107. In one district of the Peloponnesus the aristocracy did not get the upper hand. In the valley of the Eurotas a tribe settled which preserved the old system. The tribesmen all dwelt together in the city which we know as Sparta. There they were ruled over by two kings; there they preserved their Assembly; there they ate their meals in common and held their land as the property of the state,

Sparta the
Exception.

to be allotted to the tribesmen at regular intervals. Rude and sturdy men, they kept their arms in their hands and were ever ready to use them for defence and conquest. The same tribal system was also maintained in Crete.

The City-
state.

108. The usual and characteristic form taken by these states was the City, just as in the primitive East (§ 13). The Greek city came into existence by a union of the petty villages of a district. The inhabitants merged their local rights into one common body at a convenient spot. The political powers of the several communities were given to the new state. There the officials lived and administered justice; there the public assembly met; there the citizen exercised his rights. There was the centre of political life. There was set up the worship of the common god.

Its Unique-
ness.

Thus a fundamental difference appears between the Eastern and the Greek city-state. In the former all power was lodged in a king, and his people were subject to him and dependent upon him for all things (§ 21). But in the Greek city-state there was always a measure of popular freedom; to be a citizen was to have some political rights and duties. The king was never a despot, nor did the rule of the aristocracy destroy the old rights of the freeman, although it often limited his exercise of them. But they were always capable of being revived and enlarged should the proper occasion offer itself. The Greek city was also economically independent. The citizens produced their own wealth and employed it for the city's interest, not for those of a king and his court.

Thucydides, the Athenian historian, gives the following account of the origin of the city-state of Athens:

"In the days of Cecrops and the first kings, down to the reign of Theseus, Athens was divided into communes, having their own

town-halls and magistrates. Except in case of alarm the whole people did not assemble in council under the king, but administered their own affairs, and advised together in their several townships. Some of them at times even went to war with him, as the Eleusini-ans under Eumolpus with Erechtheus. But when Theseus came to the throne, he, being a powerful as well as a wise ruler, among other improvements in the administration of the country, dissolved the councils and separate governments, and united all the inhabitants of Attica in the present city, establishing one council and town-hall. They continued to live on their own lands, but he compelled them to resort to Athens as their metropolis, and henceforward they were all inscribed on the roll of her citizens. A great city thus arose which was handed down by Theseus to his descendants, and from his day to this the Athenians have regularly celebrated the national festival of the Synoikia, or union of the communes, in honor of the goddess Athene."

109. The history of the Greek world is henceforth and chiefly the history of these city-states in their growth and relations to one another. The first to become prominent were those on the other side of the Ægean sea. They had been the least disturbed by the migrations; indeed, by the advent of those who fled out of Greece from before the new-comers they had been distinctly benefited. An activity, new for this age, began to be cultivated among them—commerce. It made them vigorous, enterprising and wealthy. Miletus was the leader, followed by its rivals, Ephesus, Colophon, Magnesia, Samos, Chios and Mytilene. Soon the impulse spread to the western side of the sea and commercial cities appeared there—Chalcis and Eretria upon the island of Eubœa, as well as Megara, Corinth and Ægina. A lively trade sprang up between these cities and gave a great stimulus to manufacturing. Some cities had natural products to exchange, as Corinth its special variety of grapes, by which the name of the city

A New
Impulse:
Commerce.

The East-
ern Cities.

has been preserved to this day in the word *currants*, or Cyprus, its copper (Greek *kupros*), so called for its abundance in that island. But usually some manufactured article was exported. Thus Miletus was famous for its woollen garments, Eubœa for its purple cloths, Chalcis and Corinth for pottery, other cities for metal-work and chariots.

Beginnings
of Literature.

110. But here as elsewhere (§ 59) commerce was helpful for higher things than material progress. The nobles and the wealthy sought entertainment for their leisure and found it in music and song. In these cities appeared a class of singers who, accompanying their song with the lyre, produced the first literature of Greece. They sang of gods and heroes, of battles, sieges, and adventures by land and sea, of the loves and hates, the sins and virtues of men and gods, of the worlds above and below this earth and of all the splendid life of the mighty of old. They laid under contribution all of religion and history that had come down to them from the dim past.

Such was the singer described in the "Odyssey": "Then the henchman drew near, leading with him the beloved minstrel, whom the Muse loved dearly, and she gave him both good and evil; of his sight she reft him, but granted him sweet song. Then Pontonous, the henchman, set for him a high chair inlaid with silver, in the midst of the guests, leaning it against the tall pillar, and he hung the loud lyre on a pin, close above his head, and showed him how to lay his hands on it. The Muse stirred the minstrel to sing the songs of famous men, even that lay whereof the fame had then reached the wide heaven, namely, the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, son of Peleus; how once on a time they contended in fierce words at a rich festival of the gods, but Agamemnon, king of men, was inly glad when the noblest of the Achæans fell at variance. This song it was that the famous minstrel sang."

III. In time these songs came to be woven together into a series of greater poems, in hexameter verse, dealing with particular events, like the story of the ship "Argo" and its crew of bold heroes led by Jason, or that of the "Seven against Thebes," or that of the "Siege of Troy" and the "Wanderings of Odysseus." These are called Epics, and the most famous of them are said to have been the work of Homer and are known to us as the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey." For centuries these cycles of song passed down from singer to singer unwritten, until finally, when the age of the singers was passing, they were written down. The Epics.

II2. From these Epics comes a vivid picture of the life of the times, nowhere more strikingly exhibited than in the description of the scenes on the shield of Achilles in the eighteenth book of the "Iliad" (lines 483-606). There appears city-life, the marriages and the leading of the brides through the city with songs, the public assembly where the judges give justice between the slayer and the slain, the siege and battle, fell Death in the midst, her raiment red with the blood of men, the field ploughed with oxen, the sweet wine given to the laborer, the binding of the sheaves at harvest, the vineyard with its black and luscious grapes and the gatherers listening to the "Linos" song, the cattle in the pasture attacked by lions, the sheep and the sheepfolds, the dance, the maidens clad in fine linen with wreaths on their heads, and the youth in well-woven doublets with golden daggers in silver sheaths, the great company standing round the lovely dance in joy. Illustrate
the Life of
the Time,

II3. Religion, too, finds its first expression in these poems. The Greek, like the Oriental (§ 34), thought of the world as peopled by divine powers that influenced human life. Every spring, every forest, every height, the and the
Religion.

Its Human
Element.

wind and the storm, the lights flaming in the sky, the deep and rolling sea and the bright heaven revealed the presence and activity of the gods. With his lively imagination the Greek was not satisfied until he had formed clear-cut and vivid ideas of these powers. Above all, he thought of them as looking and acting like himself, only on a grander scale. The best that he could desire himself to be, that he imagined the gods were. When the singers sang of the gods, they pictured them as glorified and beautiful human beings. Thereby they gave to Greek religion its most characteristic stamp; they made it a religion of heavenly harmony and supreme human beauty. Another thing they did. They organized this vast and confused variety of gods. They sang of the family of the great gods, twelve or more in number, dwelling in the far north on Mt. Olympus, from whose snow-crowned summit they directed the universe. Zeus, the mighty father, was the ruler of gods and men. His wife was Hera; his brothers, Poseidon, whose domain was the sea, and Pluto, lord of the underworld and the dead; his children, Apollo, god of light, Athene, goddess of wisdom, Aphrodite, goddess of love, Ares, god of war, Artemis, goddess of the forest and the hunt, Hermes, the divine messenger, and Hephæstus, the lame, god of fire and the forge; and other notable figures, Hercules, the hero of many labors, Eros, god of desire, Demeter, goddess of the earth and its fruits, her daughter Cora (or Persephone), wife of Pluto, and Dionysus, god of the vine. The singers did not much care about the moral character of these divine beings. They are sometimes represented as quarrelling, lying or deceiving; even worse actions are told of some of them. What the poets saw in them was their human interest; with artistic sense they

The
Olympian
Gods.

made them always beautiful and only sometimes good. Yet Zeus was the judge of human and divine deeds; Apollo punished wrongdoing and was the type of moral beauty. And in those days it was no small boon to turn men's minds away from stocks and stones, and present for their worship, instead of objects of nature, humanlike forms, gloriously gracious. Thus one could approach and know them as those who, even if higher, were yet like himself, who enjoyed what he enjoyed at its best, and who bade him imitate them in measure and harmony of life. It is true that this religion was only for the present life. In the dim light of existence beyond the grave, in the place which they called Hades, the Greeks saw little that was attractive. The saying of Achilles long remained true of their feeling: "Rather would I live upon the earth as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead that be departed."

The Other
Life.

114. Commerce, as we have seen, stirred the Greeks to new life at home. But it also stirred them to step outside their own territories. Men were not satisfied with home markets; they sought out foreign shores and unvisited peoples, to whom they brought their wares for sale or exchange. In this they were like the Phœnicians. But in one important respect they differed from that eastern people. Wherever they went, they settled permanently. The population of Greece had been growing all these centuries and were too many for the home land. The newly opened regions offered to this surplus of people the opportunity to find new homes. Thus, with the more extensive trading expeditions, went hand in hand the establishment of Greek colonies, city-states which reproduced the home life. All the commercial cities had a part in this coloniz-

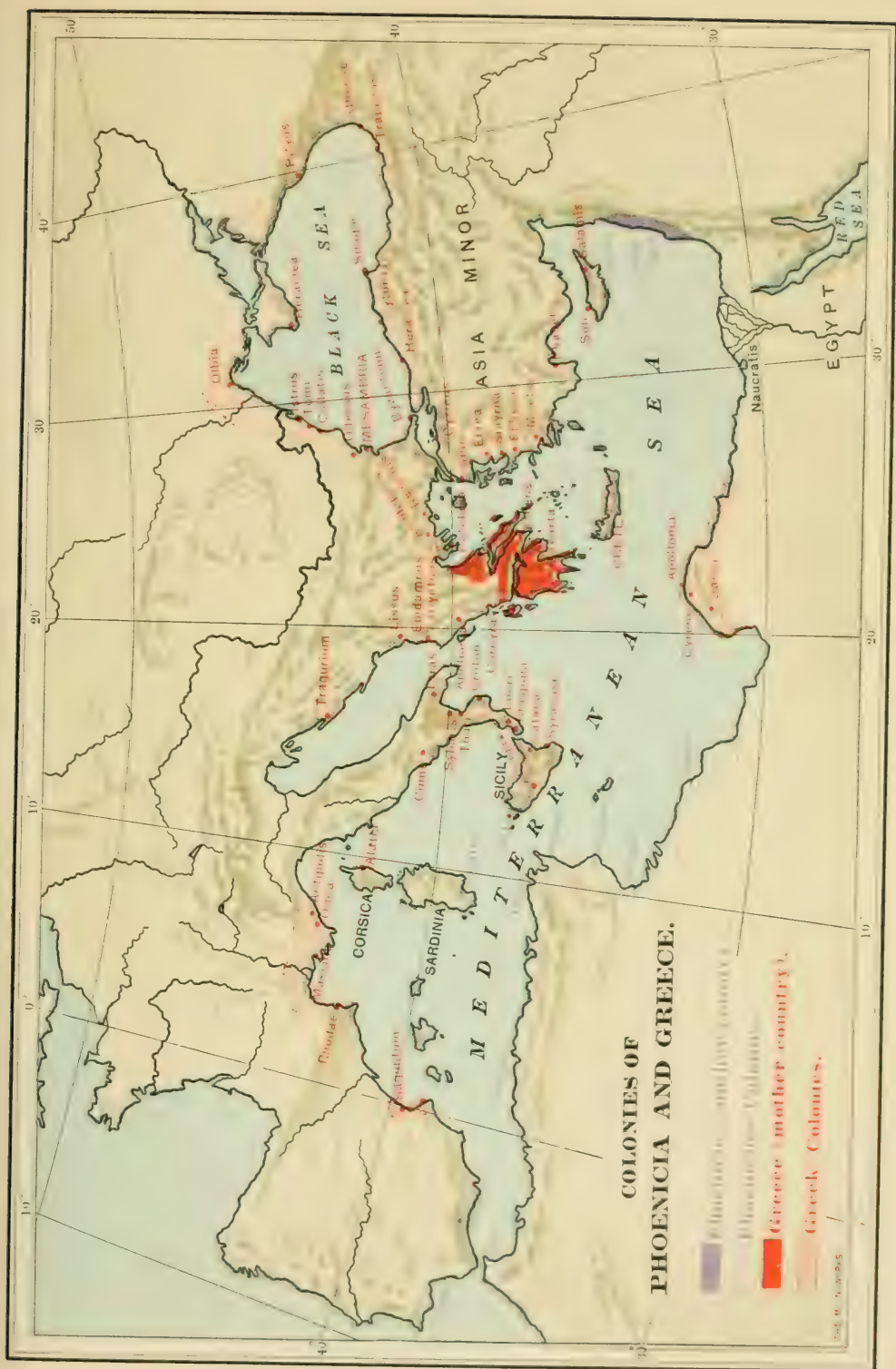
Beginnings
of Colo-
nization.

The Fields. ing activity. Those of the eastern Ægean sailed up into the Hellespont and onward, and made the shores of the Black sea Greek territory. Miletus founded Cyzicus, Sinope, Trapezus, Olbia and a host of other colonies there. Byzantium, afterward so famous, was Megara's colony. The northern Ægean was settled by the founding of cities in Thrace and Macedonia. In the east and south the Greeks pushed out into Cilicia and over to Cyrene. The Eubœans and Corinthians went westward; they founded cities in Sicily, the chief of which was Syracuse. They reached the lower coasts of eastern Italy, where they were followed by people from the Peloponnesus until so completely was the region occupied that it was called *Magna Græcia*, "Greater Greece." Its chief cities were Sybaris, Croton and Tarentum. Even on the western coast of Italy Greeks settled the city of Cyme, on the coast of Gaul the city of Massilia, and pressed still farther westward as far as Spain.

**Beginnings
of New
Relations
to the
Orient.**

115. In Sicily and Spain the Greeks came into sharp competition with the Phœnicians and Carthaginians (§ 58). Likewise in the eastern Mediterranean commerce and colonial expansion soon brought them into contact with the Oriental world. The former lively intercourse (§ 102), broken off by the Dorian invasion for some centuries, was now revived. Particularly the native kingdoms of Asia Minor cultivated relations with the new Greek world. About 700 B.C. King Midas of Phrygia dedicated to Apollo of Delphi his golden throne and Gyges of Lydia a number of costly gold and silver vessels. Under the successors of Gyges the Lydian kingdom may almost be said to have entered into the circle of Greek life. It began to seek control over the Greek coast-cities of

Lydia.



Asia Minor; King Crœsus was practically the lord of them all, and the closest commercial bonds united them. Soon Greek traders and travellers began to go to Egypt, where King Amasis received them most graciously and gave them the city of Naucratis as their trading-post. He himself also gave gifts to Apollo of Delphi. All these relations came to be of the greatest moment to the Greeks both in stimulating their own culture and in bringing them within the circle of world-politics. What this latter meant to them we shall see later.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

- I. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion. (1) The Mycenæan Age. (2) THE MIDDLE AGE: Effect of Dorian migration—growth of various occupations—tribal organization—rise of Aristocracy, except in Sparta—the city-state, its character—influence of commerce on the age (1) at home (wealth and industry—literature, the singers and epics—characteristics of Greek religion, its gods, the future)—(2) foreign relations (colonization, its origin and extent—contact with the Orient—travel and intercourse).

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following places noted: Miletus, Chalcis, Delphi? 2. Who were Amasis, Crœsus, Gyges? 3. What is meant by hexameter, epic, Magna Græcia? 4. Locate from memory on an outline map the chief centres of Greek colonization.

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the Egyptian idea of the divine world (§ 34) with that of the Greek. 2. In what respects does the religion of the Greeks differ from that of the Hebrews (§§ 61, 91)?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Story of the Argonauts. Bury, pp. 223-231. 2. The Migrations. Bury, pp. 53-64. 3. The Homeric Question. Morey, pp. 94-97; Bury, pp. 65-69; Capps, pp. 20-22, 114-118. 4. Origin and Early History of the City-State. Morey, pp.

108-109; Botsford, pp. 20-21; Fowler, pp. 5-64. 5. *Greek Stories of Early Greek History*. Bury, pp. 79-84. 6. *The Life and Institutions of the Middle Age*. Bury, pp. 69-75; Botsford, pp. 11-17; Morey, pp. 98-111; Fowler, pp. 64-112. 7. *Greek Colonization*. Bury, pp. 86-106; Botsford, pp. 30-40. 8. *The Greek Colony of Cyme*. Bury, pp. 94-95.

(3) The
New Age of
Political
Adjustment
and Expansion.

116. Thus through commerce, colonization and contact with the larger life of the old world the Greeks were on the threshold of a new and stirring activity. We have seen in part how these stimulating experiences were changing their life at home. Now we turn to trace them more in detail. These changes are seen (*a*) in the new sense of the oneness of the Greek world, (*b*) in the growth of Greek civilization, (*c*) in the political upheaval that brought the common people to the front.

(a) The
Sense of
Greek
Unity.

117. The physical character of Greece made the union of its states into one political body a difficult thing. But during these centuries of quiet organization there had been growing up a common type of life and a body of ideals and ways of looking at things which went far toward taking the place of a political unity. Now, when the Greek cities extended their horizon and came into contact with peoples outside, they woke up to realize their oneness, their difference in all these respects from the others. They began to feel the value of what they had gained and to develop and improve it. Thus, what we may call their consciousness of themselves appeared. It comes out in various ways. A school of writers flourished, who set about organizing the stories of the past into definite and intelligible shape. The most remarkable man among them was Hesiod (about 700 B.C.). His two chief works are the *Theogony*, in which he traces the history of Greek gods from the beginning, and the *Works and Days*, in which he

Seen in
Literature.

Hesiod.

tells men how to get on in the world. These writers taught how the first Greek was named Hellen; that he had three sons, Æolus, Dorus and Ion; from these were descended the three grand divisions of the Greek race, the Æolians, the Dorians and the Ionians. The Æolians lived in the north; their native seat was Thessaly; from there many of them crossed the sea and colonized the upper third of Asia Minor. The Ionians inhabited middle Greece, and from Attica they passed over and occupied the middle third of the eastern coast of the Ægean. The Dorians held the Peloponnesus, whence they went and took the rest of the Asia Minor border. Thus all were of one blood; over against the rest of the world they knew themselves as Hellenes. As Hellenes they spoke one common language, divided into three dialects, corresponding to the three branches of the race, Æolic, Ionic, Doric.

A New
Name:
Hellenes.

118. The work of the Epic poets (§ 110) had done much to cement Hellenic unity. The dialect in which they sang, the heroic figures and deeds they pictured and the gods they celebrated became the common property of the Greek world. Some of the splendid divine beings of the epics were honored everywhere. Zeus and Apollo became universal Hellenic gods. The shrine of Apollo at Delphi was a kind of centre of religious life. The noblest religious leadership of the time was given by his priests there; it became the custom to obtain from him his sanction for all enterprises. At Delphi the god spoke through his priestess in utterances called Oracles. No colony could be sent out without Apollo's oracle; kings from the world without sought his wisdom and sent him rich gifts (§ 115). What Apollo did for Greek unity at Delphi, Zeus in a different way did at Olympia. There every four years a

The Epics
Serve the
Cause of
Unity.

Delphi.

Olympia.

festival in honor of the god was celebrated from the earliest times, in connection with which athletic contests were held. All the Greek cities sent contestants thither. The list of the victors was preserved. The tradition makes this list date from 776 B.C., which is the first year of the First Olympiad, or four years' period, on which Greek chronology is based. During the festival, literary works by poets and historians were read in public and works of art exhibited, for all of which prizes were offered. Any Greek was eligible to compete. Though the reward was only a crown of olive leaves, the glory of the victor was the applause of all Greece. Religion also encouraged the union of districts in what was called an Amphictyony. Usually a sanctuary was the meeting-point and the affairs of the god and his worshippers were the matters discussed. During its sessions peace ruled over the whole territory. In connection with these amphictyonies appear the names of many states afterward famous. In middle Greece the Bœotian amphictyony was formed; on the island of Delos that of the Ionians; most famous of all was that which met at Delphi and in which the Thessalians were the leading spirits. Of the influence of this union we learn from the two obligations resting on its members: no city belonging to it was to be destroyed, nor, in case of siege, could running water be cut off from a city. Thus a kind of beginning of international law, applying in a limited circle, was made.

Amphicty-
onies.

(b) Growth
of Civiliza-
tion.

119. The second way in which the new life appeared was in the progress of thought and manners—what we call Civilization. Two most important things came to Greece through commercial life—the use of money and the art of writing. The old form of exchange was by natural prod-

ucts. Cattle were often the standard of value, as the Latin word for money indicates, *pecunia* (from *pecus*, "cattle"). But such means will not do for commercial life. Metals soon came in—at first bars of copper or iron. Later the precious metals were used, as in the East (§ 23), and soon they were coined into money. The Lydians are said to have first coined money, in the seventh century. The state guaranteed the weight and fineness according to a fixed scale and stamped the piece of gold or silver with a sign or mark of genuineness. From Lydia the custom crossed to Greece; in Ægina, it is said, the first Greek coins were made. In the case of writing it seems that the Greek merchants also introduced that art into Greece. They borrowed the alphabet from the Phœnicians (§ 59) and improved it. At first it assumed a variety of forms according to the commercial cities that adopted it. Finally the Ionic alphabet became the standard. In the eighth century men began to employ writing for public purposes—for the lists of officials and of the Olympian victors (§ 118). A century after it appears on gifts to the gods and on monuments. Finally, toward the close of the age comes its use in literature.

Use of
Money.

Art of
Writing.

120. Another mark of the higher life of the time is seen in the greater interest felt in the present, and in the thoughts and feelings of living men. Homer sang of the deeds of the heroes of old; he says not a word about his own time. But Hesiod, although he laments the misery of his day, calling the present the "iron age," still talks and reflects upon it. And now appeared poets who, in verse called *elegiac* or *iambic*, dwelt upon events of their own day, expressing in satire their disgust at their rulers, calling to a nobler life or urging some political reform. Such

Interest in
Living Men
and Their
Doings.

Lyric Poets.

Music.

Interest
in the
Problem
of Origins.Cosmog-
ony.

poets were Archilochus of Paros (670 B.C.), and Theognis of Megara (540 B.C.). Others became famous by their poetic expression of feeling, in lyrical songs of love and marriage, of feasting and social joys, of war and victory or of praise to the gods.* Accompanying this outburst of reflective and passionate poetry was a development of the art of music by the discovery of the octave and the lyre of seven strings which opened up a great variety of harmonies. All this means that knowledge was broadening, thought was awakened, pleasures were becoming finer and higher, life was growing fuller and man felt himself of more worth in the world.

121. Men began also to think more about the world in which they lived—how it came to be and what kept it in being. Religion, naturally, was first called on for the answer to these questions, and told how the power and will of the gods made all things to be. To Hesiod all beginnings were divine. First came Chaos and Earth and Heaven and Night and Day, and Sea, and Time and Love—all gods. Earth was peopled with mighty destructive beings called Titans, against whom Zeus waged war and won the victory, thus bringing order and harmony into the world. Then the gods created Man and endowed him with power to rule all things on earth. The earth was thought of as a curved disk with Greece in the middle and Mt. Olympus, where the gods dwelt, in the exact centre. It was divided into two parts by the Mediterranean and all round it flowed the Ocean stream. The earth was the centre of the Universe; above it was the ethereal

*The most celebrated were Alcæus (600 B.C.) and Sappho the poetess (610 B.C.), both of Lesbos, Anacreon of Ionia (530 B.C.) and Alcman of Sparta (660 B.C.).

region of Olympus; beneath it was Hades, the underworld; at a yet deeper depth was Tartarus, where were imprisoned the wicked immortals, chief among whom were the Titans. The resemblance of this scheme to that of the Eastern world is obvious (§ 33); it may have been in part derived from that source.

122. But when Greeks began to travel, to come into contact with strange countries and peoples outside of the former horizon of Greek life, they were not satisfied with this purely religious explanation. They began to study nature itself and find the secrets of its origin and life in material things. Thus, in the Greek world appeared philosophers and scientific men who drank in Eastern wisdom and exercised their own keen wits on the problems of nature. Thales of Miletus (600 B.C.) was a student of mathematics and physics; he calculated an eclipse, measured the height of the Pyramids of Egypt by their shadow, and knew the lore of the heavens. He held that everything in the universe came from Water. To Anaximenes (550 B.C.) this foundation principle was Air. To Heraclitus (500 B.C.) it was Fire. These Ionic thinkers found worthy companions in the philosophers of Greater Greece, where Pythagoras (540 B.C.) sought the source of all things in Number, and Xenophanes of Elea (575 B.C.) saw at the heart of the universe one God directing all things by the might of his reason. In all these, to us crude ways of thinking, we may see the working of the fine Greek intelligence. These thinkers were not satisfied with ideas that prevailed only because they were handed down from of old. They must find for themselves what was really and finally true.

Dawn of
Science and
Philosophy.

123. As these Greeks began to study nature, so they also

Interest in
Practical
Life.

came to study man and his duties. Hesiod in his *Works and Days* wrote on how to be a successful farmer. Others followed him in this teaching of Wisdom, of practical life in state and society. About the year 600 B.C. in the Greek world the most distinguished of these teachers were known as the "Seven Wise Men."* Sometimes they expressed their thought in proverbs like "Nothing too much," "Unlucky is he who cannot bear ill-luck," "Wisdom is the finest possession," "Know thyself."

Changes in
Religion

Temples.

The New
Popular
Faith.

124. We may be sure that religion also partook of the new spirit of the times. The Olympian gods became everywhere the guardians of state and society. Temples began to be built in their honor and richly decorated; their praise in song and dance became more stately and splendid; the sculptures in tomb and temple show increasing mastery of art in the service of this religion of divine life and beauty. But by the side of this public or official religion appears another which appealed to the individual and sought to meet his need of divine favor. This faith centres about deities who have not been prominent in the Olympian circle—Dionysus and Demeter. To Dionysus, the god of the vine, giver of joy and ecstasy, and to Demeter, the nourishing mother-earth, bestower of life and food to all, an enthusiastic popular devotion was poured out. One great reason for their worship was its outlook into the life beyond the grave. The changes that were coming over the face of the times did not in all respects bring happiness and peace to men; they created problems the solution of which was uncertain and unpromising. Naturally

* They were Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mytilene, Bias of Priene, Solon of Athens, Cleobulus of Lindos, Cheilon of Sparta, and Periander of Corinth.

men sought consolation in the hope of the world beyond. Little there was of this in the old faith. But the new faith had a new message on this subject. To him who with a pure heart took part in the ceremonial of worship of these gods was promised a brighter world beyond, where there was freedom from care and sin. This ceremonial was called the *Mysteries*. What it consisted of we do not know exactly, but we do know that those who took part in it were pledged to a life of purity and enjoyed the hope of an immortal life. It was an appeal to the heart, not to the head; it was a religion for the people; mystical and enthusiastic as it was, it became a power for good and a spring of some of the noblest forms of Greek life.

The
Mysteries.

125. We have kept the political changes of the time to the last. They show most simply and clearly the influence of the new forces; it was in them and through them that the other changes could come to the surface and work themselves out. They form also the connecting link between this and the following periods. We have seen how everywhere the aristocracy had gained possession of Greek politics (§ 106). In many states they not merely ruled the citizens; they were the citizens. But commerce had made many besides the aristocracy wealthy and influential. It had brought individuals everywhere, no matter what their station in life was, to a larger knowledge of the world and their own place in it (§ 120). While some had grown rich, others had become poor; the farmers especially suffered from the new markets opened by commerce and the new ways of doing business introduced thereby. Thus disturbances and difficulties appeared on every hand in Greek political life. The aristocracy, feeling its power threatened, did as those frequently do who feel that their

(c) Political
Changes.

Decline of
Aristocratic
Govern-
ments.

position is growing weaker—they used all means to keep it; they acted unjustly and despotically. This only made matters worse, and they were finally forced to yield to the storm.

Rise of the
Lawgivers.

126. One chief cause of complaint was that they alone knew the Law and administered it according to their own will. Hence, the demand arose for the publication of the law. It was secured in a truly Greek fashion. One man was chosen, the best man in the state, to whom all power was given that he might prepare, publish and administer a code of law which should be binding upon the people. Thus, almost every Greek state of the time had its Law-giver, or in later days traced its constitution back to some great man who was thought to be its author. Such famous names were Charondas of Locri, Lycurgus of Sparta, Pittacus of Mytilene, Solon of Athens. As a result, people knew what the law was and could fix the responsibility for crime and injustice. The broad and deep meaning of such a measure should not be overlooked. That the state owed it to the citizens to do justice on the basis of a public code of laws, that the best man in the state should prepare these laws, and that, once put forth, it was the citizen's duty to obey them—these were principles which no ancient people had before so fully realized.

Appearance
of the
Tyrants.

127. The publication of the laws had saved the aristocratic rule for the time, but it had not been accompanied with any larger political rights to those outside the circle of the nobles. Hence arose a new struggle. All who were dissatisfied with aristocratic rule joined together in opposition to it; the whole body was called the *Demos*, the "people," and their aim was the overthrow of the ruling powers. They succeeded. Here and there men put

themselves at the head of the revolutionary movement and by it gained the supreme power for themselves. These men were called Tyrants. They were theoretically kings, reviving the old monarchy, with larger powers. They destroyed the rule of the aristocracy and governed their states with vigor and splendor. All over the Greek world in these days tyrants appeared and in some states continued to rule down to the last Greek age. They favored commerce and trade, grew rich from their skilful management of affairs, adorned their cities with magnificent buildings, encouraged art and literature, and with much political wisdom guided their states in new paths of progress. The people, by whose aid they had gained their place, were not, indeed, given any political rights, but the satisfaction of having rid themselves of aristocratic rule and the enlarged prosperity and comfort enjoyed were sufficient for the time to satisfy them.

Splendor of
Their Rule.

128. One of the first tyrants was Thrasybulus of Miletus, a shrewd and energetic ruler, who was able to keep his city independent of Lydia (§ 115). In Corinth the aristocracy was overthrown by Cypselus, whose father was a commoner, but his mother of a noble family. His son Periander followed him (625-585 B.C.) He was a friend and ally of Thrasybulus.

Some of
the
Tyrants.

Herodotus relates a characteristic story of their relations: "He sent a messenger to Thrasybulus and asked what settlement of affairs was the safest for him to make, in order that he might best govern his State: and Thrasybulus led forth the messenger who had come from Periander out of the city, and entered into a field of growing corn; and as he passed through the crop of corn, while inquiring and asking questions repeatedly of the messenger about the occasion of his coming from Corinth, he kept cutting off the heads of those ears of corn which he saw higher than the rest; and as he cut off their heads

he cast them away, until he had destroyed in this manner the finest and richest part of the crop. So having passed through the place and having suggested no word of counsel, he dismissed the messenger. When the messenger returned to Corinth, Periander was anxious to hear the counsel which had been given; but he said that Thrasybulus had given him no counsel, and added that he wondered at the deed of Periander in sending him to such a man, for the man was out of his senses and a waster of his own goods—relating at the same time that which he had seen Thrasybulus do. So Periander, understanding that which had been done and perceiving that Thrasybulus counselled him to put to death those who were eminent among his subjects, began then to display all manner of evil treatment to the citizens of the State; for whatsoever Cypselus had left undone in killing and driving into exile, this Periander completed.”

Corinth
under
Periander.

129. But Periander was more than a despot and a butcher. He raised his city to the leading place among the Greek states of his day. Her power on the sea was mighty. The first war-ships with three banks of oars—called Triremes—were built at Corinth. With his fleet Periander subdued Corcyra in the first sea-fight of Greek history. He was a patron of letters. The poet Arion was said to have been an ornament of his court, and tradition has made the tyrant one of the “Seven Wise Men” of Greece (§ 122).

Decline and
Fall of the
Tyrants.

130. The new spirit of Greece, which had raised the tyrants to the throne, would not let them remain there long. The nobles were always hostile to them; the Demos, still deprived of political rights, grew dissatisfied. Then the tyrants* in their turn grew more despotic, and ruled by force and fear, until all parties united to put them down. The tyranny usually lasted no longer than the second generation. It had accomplished one result—

* Owing to this later form of the tyranny our word “tyrant” has a bad meaning.

the universal rule of the aristocracy had perished and the way was opened for the advance of the people. When it fell, its place was taken usually by citizens prominent because of their property, and the change was accompanied by making more of the people citizens. Such a government was called a Timocracy (from the Greek *ti-me*, "value") and was a step toward putting the control of affairs in the hands of the citizens—the form of government called Democracy (from the Greek *demos*, "people"). Democracy, the unique contribution of Greece to political progress, was worked out in the next period.

Rise of
Democracy

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion: (1) The Mycenæan Age. (2) The Middle Age. (3) THE AGE OF POLITICAL ADJUSTMENT AND EXPANSION: Three lines of change arise: (1) Sense of Greek unity—appearing in literature, religion. (2) Growth of civilization—seen in use of money, writing, interest in present life (poetry, science, and philosophy)—in religion (the official and the popular faith, mysteries). (3) Political changes—fall of aristocracy, Law-givers, Tyrants, rise of democracy.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following famous: Theognis, Thales, Hesiod, Pythagoras, Alcæus, Amasis, Anacreon? 2. What is meant by Amphictyony, Mysteries, Hellenes, Elegiac? 3. What is the date of the First Olympiad?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the early Greek idea of the form of the world with that of the Egyptians and Babylonians (§ 33). 2. Compare the political effects of commerce and trade upon the Greeks with their effect upon Oriental peoples (§§ 20, 23, 56-59, 69).

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. Greek Ships. Bury, pp. 109-110; Dicts. of Antiquities, arts. "Ship" or "Navy." 2. The Games and the Oracles. Morey, pp. 150-153;

Botsford, pp. 98-103; Zimmern, ch. 2; Bury, pp. 139-144 (Olympia), 157-161 (Delphi). 3. **How Reduce Olympiads to Terms of Our Chronology?** Abbott, *Skeleton Outline*, p. 18; West, p. 101. 4. **The Ionic Philosophers.** Morey, pp. 161-164; Botsford, pp. 92-96. 5. **The Greek Temple.** Morey, pp. 154-158; Bury, p. 152. 6. **The Lyric Poets.** Morey, pp. 159-161; Bury, pp. 118-119; Botsford, pp. 89-90; Capps, pp. 141-172; Shuckburgh, pp. 27-29; Jebb, p. 491. 7. **Hesiod and His School.** Bury, pp. 107-108; Botsford, pp. 87-88; Murray, pp. 53-62; Capps, pp. 129-140; Jebb, pp. 40-46. 8. **The Lawgivers.** Bury, pp. 144-146. 9. **The Tyrants.** Bury, pp. 146-157; Botsford, pp. 64-70.

The Two
Leading
States of
the Time.

131. Among the city-states that from time to time have appeared in the history of these centuries, two come forward prominently as we draw near the close of this age—Sparta and Athens. They show the influence of the forces which have been described, and they became later the leading states of Greece. The story of their rise and early history, therefore, properly closes the Period of Beginnings.

Sparta.

132. The foundation of the Spartan political system has already been described (§ 107). It was essentially military, as the tribal organization always is. Its members must ever be ready for war. The men must live together and be unhampered by family ties. Children must be brought up to be warriors. Everything in the way of art and science, all refinement of culture, was discouraged. When, all over the rest of Greece, the forces that followed in the train of commerce were breaking down the old way of living and thinking, Sparta sternly set her face against all changes. Strangers were rigorously banished. The only money there current was of iron and in coins of small denominations. The only music was the march, the only poetry the war-song. Their words were few; they preferred deeds. The one principle of

Shuts Out
the New
Life.

life was discipline. The virtues most highly prized and most diligently encouraged were those of the warrior—strength, courage, endurance, skill in arms. The supreme sentiment for the people was obedience to the chosen leaders. One might have expected that these would be their two kings. But for some reason not exactly clear they gave the chief authority to officials, elected from the people year by year, called Ephors. These officials came to control all parts of the state; even the kings were subject to them. The kings, indeed, led the army in war, but even then two ephors were always with them. The Council of elders, called Gerontes, continued to exist, as did also the Public Assembly, but the powers of both in reality were very limited.* Thus the Spartans were, by their organization and training, destined for war. One particular element of the system—that of living together in the city—especially forced them to it. There was not land enough at Sparta, nor could the Spartans leave the city to till fields at a distance, if they were to be in constant readiness for military activity at home. Hence, very early, they are found conquering the slopes of the mountains to the east and the sea-coast, reducing the inhabitants to state servitude and forcing them to till the soil for the benefit of the conquerors. These state serfs were called Helots. Their condition was not an enviable one. The inhabitants of other cities were allowed their freedom on condition of paying tribute; these were called Perioeci. Both classes served in the army under their Spartan mas-

The
Spartan
Spirit.

The
Spartan
Organiza-
tion.

The Expan-
sion of
Sparta.

* In later times the Spartans ascribed this constitution of theirs to a lawgiver named Lycurgus and wove a story about him and his doings. In fact he was a god whom they had once worshipped and whom they turned into a man and made the founder of the system. It really sprang up in the natural way just described.

War with
Messenia.

Pheidon
of Argos.

ters. This conquering army soon directed its attention to the regions in the west. Here across the Taygetus mountains was a wide and fertile plain called Messenia. Its inhabitants made a desperate resistance in what is called the First Messenian War, but were reduced to submission. Thus all the southern Peloponnesus was under Spartan rule, parceled out among Spartan citizens. When from Messenia the Spartans pushed northward into the district called Elis, they came into contact with more formidable foes. At the time of the Dorian migration the strongest of the invading bodies had settled down in the eastern Peloponnesus in the district of Argos. At the time of the Spartan advance into Elis a vigorous king called Pheidon was on the Argive throne (about 660 B.C.). He was in hearty sympathy with the new life of the day, as is shown by a system of weights and measures introduced by him, which spread all over Greece; it was called the Æginetan system. To check Sparta's victorious progress, he joined with two other Peloponnesian states, Arcadia and Pisatis, and, in connection with a rebellion of the Messenians, entered on a conflict with Sparta, which is called the Second Messenian War (about 650 B.C.). Yet, though the struggle was long and fierce, Sparta was finally victorious here also. Next we find her pushing northward up the Eurotas valley against the Arcadian city of Tegea. Against these Arcadian mountaineers not so much headway was made; whereupon Sparta adopted a new political policy. A treaty was made, whereby Tegea, in return for being left in peace, agreed to contribute a force to the Spartan army and to make Sparta's friends her friends. This plan worked so well that Sparta proceeded to extend it to other cities, until

finally, on these conditions, a League of all the Peloponnesian states except Argos was formed under Spartan leadership. By 525 B.C. Sparta was the greatest Greek state; besides her own territories, Elis, Corinth, Ægina, Megara and Sicyon were members of the League. Foreign powers coming into contact with Greece sought her alliance. Thus she joined with Lydia and the other eastern states against Cyrus (§ 82). Outside the Peloponnesus she was involved in relations with other Greek communities, particularly with the growing state of Athens. To understand these larger complications we must turn aside to follow the rise and early history of Athens.

The Peloponnesian League.

133. Attica, of which Athens was the chief city, was a rough, poorly watered and unproductive peninsula, jutting out into the Ægean and cut off from the rest of Greece by Mount Parnes, an offshoot of the Cithæron range. The city lay in a little valley through which the Cephissus flowed to the southwest into the Saronic gulf. Dwellers in the plain had early gathered about a lofty isolated mass of rock, the Acropolis, so easy of defence as to be marked out for the centre of a city. The plain sloped gently to the sea and was itself protected by mountains on either side. The community worshipped the goddess Athene, its patron and defender, who gave the name to the city. The prevailing race-type was Ionian. Already Athens had united all the inhabitants of the peninsula in one city-state (§ 108).

Athens

Position

People

134. Moreover, when we come to know Athens, the aristocracy was already in control. Traditions told how kings had once ruled, but these had gradually been restricted in powers and in dignities, until hardly more remained to remind one of them than the name "king" ap-

Early Organization.

plied to the chief minister of religion. In their place came yearly officials called Archons, nine in number, for the conduct of civil, military, religious and financial administration. The Tribal Council took two forms: (1) a body of forty-eight heads of local districts, each of which supplied a war-ship (*naus*), hence called the Council of the Nau-craries, and (2) a body made up of ex-officials, it seems, charged chiefly with judicial powers, called the Council of the Areopagus (the "Hill of Curses"). Of course, both officials and councils were limited to aristocrats, who also controlled, if they did not make up, the Public Assembly. As elsewhere, so especially in Athens, there was a large number of freemen who, under aristocratic administration, were entirely outside of public activities. The members of noble houses, like the Medontidæ and the Alcmaeonidæ, were all-powerful; none could break into their close circle. Their heads were leaders and their members were citizens of the state. The army was organized in three divisions: first, the knights (*hippeis*), the aristocrats who could afford to have war-horses and fine weapons; second, the heavy-armed footmen (*zeugitæ*, *i.e.*, who had farms big enough to employ a yoke of oxen); third, the light-armed troops (*thetes*, *i.e.*, petty land-owners and farm laborers). All the people of Attica were divided into four tribes, each with its chief and its god.

Aristocrats
in Control.

Tyrants.

135. But, in time, the aristocratic state was affected by the new life. A certain noble, Cylon by name, attempted to make himself tyrant (about 635 B.C.), but without success. Commerce was making some men rich and others poor; farmers were in debt and many were being sold into slavery. The Demos was rising. A Law-

Lawgivers.

giver (§ 126), Draco, was appointed (about 624 B.C.). Draco. His legislation availed but little, the only important thing in it being the distinction between the penalty for different sorts of murder. Heretofore, all killing had been murder and its penalty death at the hands of the relatives of the dead man (§ 105). Now, accidental or justifiable homicide was distinguished in its punishment from wilful murder. As Draco's laws were chiefly a collection of the old customs of the land, they seemed to the later Athenians exceedingly severe and were said to have been "written in blood." Another trial of a lawgiver was made in 594 B.C., by the choice of Solon as sole archon Solon. of the state with unlimited authority in the settlement of affairs.

136. Athens had already begun to enter heartily into the commercial activity of the time. Pottery was manufactured; olive oil—the chief natural product of Attica—exported and grain imported; colonizing entered upon. An important station on the trade route to the Black sea was secured—Sigeum on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor. A great hindrance was Megara's possession of Salamis, the island at the very gates of Athens. A struggle to secure it for Athens had been crowned with victory through the inspiring war-poetry of Solon. He was, therefore, a prominent man; an aristocrat, but a friend of the people, eager to deliver them from their distresses and to give them a place and a part in the state. Early
Athenian
Expansion.

137. The measures of Solon were vital and thoroughgoing. The fundamental thing he did was to make all free native-born people citizens. Second, he relieved them from their chief burdens by remitting all debts contracted on their lands or secured on the person or family Constitu-
tion of
Solon.

of the debtor. Third, he gave all some part in the conduct of the state. All the citizens, rich and poor alike, were made members of the Public Assembly. All over thirty years old and of good moral character were eligible to membership in a new Court of justice called the *Heliæa*, which was the final court of appeal. The council of the Areopagus was constituted as a special court of justice and given supervision of the laws. The other council was transformed by being increased to 400 members and called the *Boule* or Senate. Its chief function was to prepare business for the Public Assembly. The higher magistracies, those of archon, treasurer, etc., were open only to men of the largest wealth; the lesser offices could be occupied by the less wealthy citizens. A new arrangement was made for choosing the archons. Forty were nominated, ten by each tribe, and from these the nine were chosen. The distribution of administrative positions, while in principle based on wealth, resulted in actual practice in giving the highest offices to the most influential *hippeis*, and in dividing the rest of the places between the other *hippeis* and the *zeugitæ*. No *thetes* were eligible for the magistracy. The state, therefore, remained aristocratic in administration, although the people at large were given political rights never before possessed; these in time were certain to be emphasized and enlarged. It may be truly said that Solon was the founder of the Athenian Democracy.

Its Spirit.

Renewal of
Conflict.

Pisistratus,
Tyrant.

138. The constitution made by Solon prepared the way for progress, but it did not actually bring relief to the state. Conflict and distress continued. Finally, by the aid of the peasants (chiefly *thetes*), a nobleman called Pisistratus was able to usurp the government in 561 B.C., and though

driven from power, regained it about 545 B.C., and was tyrant until his death in 528 B.C. By him, the poor peasants, who had been relieved of their debts and given citizenship by Solon, were granted land and money to set up farming and to become self-supporting and useful citizens. They could not exercise political rights, but became economically comfortable. Pisistratus favored commerce, which brought increasing wealth to the state. His court, like those of the other tyrants (§ 127), was brilliant; literature and art were encouraged. It is said that Homer's poems were first written down under his patronage and that he established a library at Athens. A temple to Athene, the patron goddess of the city, was built. The gods Zeus and Apollo were enrolled among the deities to be publicly worshipped. An important part of the state-religion dates from his establishment of the festivals of the god Dionysus (§ 124), the Flower Festival of the early spring (in February) and the Vintage Festival of the winter (in December). At the latter he introduced the sacred Play in which scenes in the life of the god were exhibited—the Tragedy or Goat-song and the Comedy or Village-song. It is worth remembering that in 535 B.C. Thespis produced the first tragedy at Athens in connection with these festivals. The theatre there was a part of religious worship. The foreign politics of Pisistratus were successful in making Athens a power in the Greek world. He controlled the approaches to the Hellespont and was in alliance with the Thessalians and with Argos. By his services to the sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Delos, a favorite Ionian centre, he became a leader among the Ionians of the Ægean. On his death (528 B.C.) he was succeeded without opposition by his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus.

His Admin-
istration.

His Court.

Religious
Festivals.

His
Foreign
Politics.

Tyranny
Over-
thrown.

139. But the tyranny was to have as short a life at Athens as it had enjoyed elsewhere (§ 130). The same reasons for its overthrow existed there. In addition, the advance of the Persians to the Ægean (§ 90) had cut off the commercial and political influence of Athens in the east and northeast so skilfully built up by Pisistratus. Thus business distress followed. The growing discontent was manifested in the murder of Hipparchus. Finally, by the influence of the oracle at Delphi, Sparta was induced to send an army under king Cleomenes to drive Hippias out (510 B.C.). After he was gone, the Spartans attempted to set up an aristocratic government, but after a struggle the Athenian people under the leadership of Cleisthenes, the head of the family of the Alcmaeonidæ, a friend of the Demos, was able to gain control of the state (508 B.C.). Cleisthenes immediately set about a reorganization of the state on the basis of the constitution of Solon with the purpose of correcting the defects and guarding against the dangers of the former legislation. Two evils had not been met by the Solonian constitution—the people could not exercise the rights given them because of aristocratic influence, and parties based on local self-interest rent the state. To meet these difficulties Cleisthenes made some fundamental changes. He organized the people into ten tribes. Each tribe was made up of three parts taken by lot from each of the three local divisions of Attica, the upland, the plain and the coast, where dwelt respectively the peasants, the landed proprietors and the merchants. Thus all interests and all parties were likely to be represented in each tribe. The unit of each tribe was the deme, or township; to be a citizen one must be enrolled in a deme; it elected its officials, who revised its list of citi-

Legislation
of Cleis-
thenes.

zen members from time to time and probably cared for the taxes. At the same time a large body of new citizens was created by the admission of strangers and freedmen resident in the land. The Senate (Boule) was increased to 500 members, fifty from each tribe, chosen in the demes according to the number of citizens in each deme. The year was divided into ten parts, and each body of fifty senators presided over public business for a month. As such it was called a Prytany and was lodged and fed at the public expense during that time. Ten generals (strategoi) were chosen, one from each tribe. The other officials were appointed as before. A new device for guarding against tyranny was Ostracism. Every year the citizens were given the privilege of voting as to whether any prominent man was dangerous to the state. If 6,000 citizens voted, a majority of votes recorded against any one upon the pieces of tile (*ostraka*) used for the purpose, compelled him to leave the state for ten years, though neither his property nor his citizen rights were lost.

140. Thus Athens became a definitely democratic community. Solon had established the citizen body in its political rights; Pisistratus had given the poor people opportunity to become self-supporting and respectable; Cleisthenes made it possible for them to use their power in the actual conduct of the state. A notable political experiment was now tried for the first time in history. The opportunity was soon to come in which it would be seen whether popular government was equal to meeting the strain of war and suffering. The Persian war-cloud was hanging over the eastern horizon (§ 90). With its swift approach the era of Greek Beginnings drew to its close (500 B.C.).

The Victory
of Democ-
racy at
Athens.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion. (1) The Mycenæan Age. (2) The Middle Age. (3) THE AGE OF POLITICAL ADJUSTMENT AND EXPANSION (continued): Two states as illustrating the times: (a) Sparta (characteristics, politics, expansion, the Peloponnesian league). (b) Athens (position, people, early politics, aristocracy, lawgivers, Solon and his work—tyrants, Cleisthenes and his work, outcome).

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. What is meant by Deme, Gerontes, Prytany, Helot, Acropolis, Periœci, Heliæa, Boule? 2. Who were Pheidon, Thespis, Dionysus, Cleomenes? 3. Locate from memory on an outline map all the cities and countries mentioned in §§ 131-140. 4. What is the date of the Second Messenian War? of Solon?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. Compare the manner in which Sparta built up her power in the Peloponnesus with the manner in which the eastern states built up their power (§§ 13, 14, 35, 42, 68-71).

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Story of Lycurgus and the Historical Problem Involved. Bury, pp. 135-136. 2. Cylon's Rebellion. Bury, pp. 175-179. 3. The Story of Solon. Plutarch, Life of Solon. 4. The Cretan Constitution Compared with that of Sparta. Bury, pp. 136-139. 5. Sparta's Beginnings and Organization. Morey, pp. 112-117; Bury, pp. 120-125; Botsford, pp. 27-29, 56-63; Shuckburgh, pp. 30-45; Zimmern, ch. 3. 6. Sparta's Expansion. Morey, pp. 118-120; Bury, pp. 125-129; Botsford, pp. 77-80. 7. Early History of Athens. Morey, pp. 120-125; Bury, pp. 163-180; Botsford, pp. 25-27, 41-48; Shuckburgh, pp. 55-68. 8. Solon's Constitution. Morey, pp. 125-129; Shuckburgh, pp. 68-86; Botsford, pp. 48-56; Bury, pp. 180-189. 9. Pisistratus. Morey, pp. 129-131; Bury, pp. 192-202; Botsford, pp. 70-77; Shuckburgh, pp. 81-88. 10. The Reforms of Cleisthenes. Morey, pp. 131-134; Shuckburgh, pp. 88-93; Botsford, pp. 81-86; Bury, pp. 210-215.

141. The beginnings of Greek life are unknown. The Oriental peoples were already far advanced in civilization when the first light breaks on the Ægean world. Yet by 1500 B.C. a series of vigorous and well-advanced Greek communities, extending from Cyprus to Sicily, appeared, having political and commercial relations to the East. This so-called Mycenæan age was brought to an end by the descent of rude tribes from the north, which is called the Dorian Migration. This cut off Greece from the outer world and set in motion new forces of political and social organization. Changes from tribal life to local settlement created the city-state and put at its head the aristocratic government. When the new-comers had adjusted themselves to their new homes, commerce began to revive on the shores of the Ægean. The cities on the Asia Minor coast came forward. New relations with the Orient arose. Wealth gave leisure and opportunity for the new growth of literature and art and religion. Epic poetry reached its height in Homer. The Greeks began to know themselves as one people, the Hellenes, and to form their ideals of social, religious and political life. The Olympic Gods (§ 113), the religious Games (§ 118), the Delphic Oracle, the Amphictyonies, were signs of the times. Commerce led to a wide and enterprising colonial activity in the Mediterranean world. All this new life reacted upon the Greeks to produce (1) dissatisfaction with aristocratic rule, leading to the appointment of Lawgivers, the appearance of Tyrannies and the rise of Democracy; and (2) larger relations with the outside world, particularly with the Oriental Empires now being rapidly merged into the Persian Empire. Two states rose above the others as the age drew to an end. Sparta illustrates

Summary
of the
Period.

the tendency to maintain the old tribal system with its equality and its military bent. It grew by conquest, until it occupied half the Peloponnesus and formed a political League embracing almost all the rest. Thus it was the leading Greek state. Athens went to the other extreme. Its lawgivers, Solon and Cleisthenes, led the way in the establishment of popular government. Pisistratus, the Athenian tyrant, gave the state a leading place among the commercial powers of the time. Thus by 500 B.C. the Greek world had reached a point at which, its political institutions fixed and its states firmly established, it was prepared to take its place and do its work in world politics. This place and work in the world were opened to it in the rapidly approaching complications with the Persian Empire.

GENERAL REVIEW OF PART II, DIVISION 1

TOPICS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION. 1. Trace the development of political institutions through the three epochs of this period (§§ 101, 105-108, 125-130). 2. Note the various stages in the development of literature and art in this period (§§ 101, 110, 111, 117, 120, 138). 3. Show how the literature and art of each epoch corresponds to the political history of that epoch. 4. Give a history of the Greek king (§§ 101, 105, 106, 107, 127, 134). 5. Compare the history of Sparta and Athens as they were affected by the general political development of Greece (§§ 107, 108, 132-140). 6. Trace the influence of commerce on the life of the Greeks during this period (§§ 102, 109, 110, 114). 7. On what occasions during this period did the Greeks come into contact with outside peoples? Who were these peoples and what did the contact mean for Greece (§§ 102, 114, 115, 122, 132 (82), 138)? 8. Enumerate the influences (1) that kept the Greeks separate, and (2) that united them, during this period (§§ 94, 106, 108, 117, 118).

MAP AND PICTURE EXERCISES. 1. On an outline map of Greece place (1) the physical features of Greece, (2) the peoples and cities of the first epoch, (3) those of the second epoch, (4) those of the third epoch—using, if possible, different colored pencils or inks to distinguish the epochs—(5) then, with the general map of Greece before you, note the peoples and cities which have not yet played a part in the history. 2. Compare the Oriental scenes in Plates III and V with the Greek scene found in Plate VI and make observations from the point of view of grace, strength, simplicity, technical skill, etc. Compare, for further illustration, the plates in Tarbell, pp. 132, 137, 146, 151, 156.

SUBJECTS FOR WRITTEN PAPERS. 1. **The Olympian Games.** Bury, pp. 140-142; Grant, *Greece in the Age of Pericles*, pp. 26-33; Duruy, *History of Greece*, II, pp. 378-394; Diehl, *Excursions in Greece*, ch. 7. 2. **Greek Oracles, especially Delphi.** Bury, pp. 159, 161; Grant, *Greece in the Age of Pericles*, pp. 20-26; Duruy, *History of Greece*, II, pp. 318-330. 3. **Mycenæan Art.** Tarbell, ch. 2; Bury, pp. 11-30; Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenæan Age*, chs. 5, 9. 4. **The Story of the Founding of a Greek Colony.** Botsford, ch. 3; Bury, ch. 2; Duruy, *History of Greece*, II, pp. 165-173; Greenidge, pp. 36-45. 5. **Write the story of the "Iliad" in a thousand words.** Capps, pp. 22-74. 6. **Write the story of the "Odyssey" in the form of an autobiography of Odysseus.** Capps, pp. 75-110. 7. **History of a Tyrant; Cleisthenes of Sicyon.** Herodotus, V, 67-69; VI, 126-131; or, **Polycrates of Samos.** Herodotus, III, 40-47, 54-56, 120-125. 8. **The Legends of the Chief Gods of Greece.** Grant, *Greece in the Age of Pericles*, pp. 12-18; Guerber, *Myths of Greece and Rome*. 9. **Heracles and the Dorian Invasions.** Bury, pp. 80-82; Duruy, *History of Greece*, I, pp. 273-281. 10. **The Greek Temple.** Mahaffy, *Old Greek Life*, pp. 19-24; Tarbell, ch. 3.

2.—THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT EMPIRE: ATHENIAN, SPARTAN, THEBAN AND MACEDONIAN

500-331 B.C.

(1) THE
WARS
WITH
PERSIA.

The Menace
of Persia.

142. The victory of Cyrus over Lydia (§ 82) had brought the Ionian cities under the Persian power. This authority had been strengthened and extended over the islands by succeeding rulers until practically the whole coast was subject. The Scythian expedition of King Darius (§ 90) had been followed by the extension of Persian authority throughout the northern Ægean, where a new satrapy was formed. It was clear that the Great King would not stop until all the Greek peninsula acknowledged his sceptre. Some Greek communities were already reconciled to this prospect and had sought the aid of Persia in the settlement of their difficulties. Among these were Thebes and Argos; the Delphic Oracle steadily favored submission, and even Athens in the early days of Cleisthenes had offered to do homage. It seemed that the lack of Greek unity, set over against the mighty centralized power of Persia, would make successful defence impossible.

The Ionian
Revolt.

143. But events beyond the control of the Greek states made a conflict unavoidable. In 499 B.C. the Greek cities of Ionia under the leadership of Miletus rebelled against the Persians and sought help from Sparta and Athens. The former refused, but Athens sent twenty ships and Eretria five. The revolt, after lasting six years, was put down in 494 B.C. Persia immediately set about punishing







the Greeks of the peninsula for their interference, while Sparta and Athens, with a boldness born rather of ignorance and assurance than of real knowledge, awaited the attack. The first expedition commanded by Mardonius, the king's son-in-law, consisted of a land army and a fleet. It started southward from the Persian possessions on the north Ægean through Macedonia in 492 B.C. But the fleet was shipwrecked off Mt. Athos and the expedition returned in disgrace. A second attack was made in 490 B.C. by a force which sailed straight across the sea bound for Athens. It consisted of about 20,000 men, chiefly foot-soldiers. After stopping at the island of Eubœa and sacking Eretria, the army was landed on the Attic coast in the hill-girt plain of Marathon. The Athenian citizen force of 10,000 heavy armed men (hoplites), aided by 1,000 troops of the neighboring city of Plataea, occupied the heights through which the road descended to the city. The ten strategoi, with the war archon at their head, were uncertain whether to meet the Persians there or to await them behind the walls of Athens. The Persians were equally in doubt as to what to do. Finally, after some days, the persuasions of one of the strategoi, Miltiades, were successful in inducing the Athenians to remain. The Persians also decided to advance. On the decisive day the war archon handed over the chief command to Miltiades. He extended his force until it equalled the Persian front, strengthening his wings at the expense of the centre, and hurled the army on a run against the advancing Persians. The strategy was successful, for, while his centre was broken, the wings were victorious and closed in upon the Persians, who fled to their ships. Six thousand four hundred Persians were

Darius
Attacks
Greece.

Marathon.

slain and seven ships were taken; of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two fell. The rest of the enemy escaped upon the ships and returned to Asia Minor. Two days after, a Spartan force, for which the Athenians had despatched a swift messenger, arrived on the scene.

Significance
of the
Victory.

144. The victory of Marathon had no effect upon the Persian king beyond making him more determined than ever to conquer Greece. To him it was only a temporary check; a small force had been defeated in a somewhat rash enterprise. For the Greeks, however, the victory meant everything; now at last they had no fear of Persia and were ready to meet any attack however formidable. To Athens especially it was most significant. At one bound she sprang to the front as the defender of Greek freedom. Miltiades shared in the glory and became the first citizen of the state. Under his leadership a fleet was sent out against the islands under Persian rule.

The Ten
Years'
Respite.

145. The Persians were delayed ten years before attacking again. While Darius was making his preparations, the province of Egypt rebelled (486 B.C.). He himself died the next year and was succeeded by his son Xerxes. During this time important changes were taking place in the political situation at Athens. A failure of Miltiades in his naval expedition brought him into disgrace with the Athenians; he died while under condemnation by the people. The democratic movement was greatly aided by a change in the constitution by which the archons were appointed by lot. In this arrangement the chief administrative officers of the state might sometimes be men who were not natural leaders. Hence the people found such leaders in the strategoi (§ 139) who were still elected, not chosen by lot. It was arranged that, henceforth, while

Democratic
Progress at
Athens.

nine strategoi were elected by the tribes, one, the chief strategos, should be elected by all the people. He therefore became the chief man (the demagogue, "leader of the demos") in the state, and the archons fell into obscurity.

146. Under this arrangement two men came prominently forward with very different political ideas. Aristides, a man of exceptionally high character, was conservative; he thought the safety of Athens and her greatness lay in emphasizing the importance of her heavy armed citizen soldiery that had won the battle of Marathon. Themistocles, the opposing statesman, claimed that there was no hope of deliverance except in the creation of a naval force which could meet the Persians on the sea and beat them off. He urged also a commercial policy as the true source of wealth and progress for Athens. When in 493 B.C. Themistocles had been archon, he had induced the Athenians to change their harbor to the roomy and protected bay of the Piræus, and now he urged his naval policy more vigorously. He persuaded the people to devote the income of their silver mines on the promontory of Laurium, usually distributed among the citizens, to the building of the navy, and in 483 B.C. a fleet of at least one hundred triremes was ready. Opposition was overthrown by the "ostracism" of Aristides in 482 B.C. This step was one of the most important ever taken by Athens. It marked out her future career. Had Aristides won, Athens would have remained a state in which the landholders and the people of property, who made up the citizen army, would have been the chief element in the state. The new policy turned Athens toward the sea. It brought into prominence and importance the merchants and trades-

Aristides.

Themistocles.

His Policy.

Its Result.

men; the mass of the poor and landless people, hitherto without influence in the state, were made as necessary for the fleet as the hoplites for the army. Hence, the policy was a step forward toward true democracy within the state and toward giving Athens a leading place in the greater world without.

The Expedition of Xerxes.

147. The preparations of Xerxes for the invasion of Greece were begun by 483 B.C. The plan adopted was the same as that of 492 B.C. (§ 143). To avoid the dangers of shipwreck off Mt. Athos a canal was cut through the peninsula on which it stood. Bridges were thrown across the streams and magazines of stores were established. An army and a fleet, which represented the full strength of the Empire, were collected. Xerxes himself took the command. The Greeks estimated the total size of the army at something short of two millions. A very conservative estimate makes the number of first-class fighting men, exclusive of camp-followers, about 100,000. The fleet numbered about a thousand ships, great and small. In the spring of 481 B.C. the Hellespont was crossed, and, by July, the fleet and the army were moving southward to the borders of Thessaly.

Dark Outlook for the Greeks.

148. The outlook for the Greeks was dark. To the demand for submission which Xerxes had made, through heralds sent up and down the land, a number of states had yielded. The Thessalian nobles, Thebes and the Bœotian cities under her influence, Argos and some lesser tribes, were either openly or secretly on the Persian side. The oracle of Delphi had lost all hope and its utterances in response to anxious inquiries from the different states were gloomy and discouraging. A council of the states that proposed to offer resistance met at Corinth. The

Union for Resistance.

Peloponnesian league under Sparta's headship was naturally the chief power; Athens and other states loyally accepted her leadership. The council agreed that in the face of the pressing danger all feuds between Greek states should cease and a general invitation was extended to all to unite for defence. A special request for help was sent to Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, who ruled over the cities of Sicily and possessed military resources beyond those of any other state in the Greek world. But Xerxes had made an alliance with Carthage (§ 58), whereby she was to attack the Greeks of Sicily. Gelon was, therefore, unable to render assistance even if he had been willing to do so. The plan of campaign proposed by Themistocles The Plan. was adopted; it was simple and masterly. On land, where the Persian army was so much larger, a battle was to be avoided as long as possible; a naval battle was to be sought as soon as possible, for on the sea the opposing forces were more nearly equal. It was thought that, if the Persian fleet were destroyed, the army of the Great King would not be able to remain in Greece. Having made these preparations, full of heroic courage and undaunted purpose, the representatives of the various states separated and the conflict began.

149. In accordance with the plan, a small force was sent forward to block the enemy's advance at the northern mountain border of Thessaly. It was found, however, that there were too many passes through the mountains to make a defence possible at this point, and, abandoning Thessaly, the Greek force took its stand on the heights south of the Thessalian plain. Here the narrow and easily defended pass of Thermopylæ forms the only entrance Thermopylæ. into middle Greece. The Greeks were under the com-

mand of the Spartan king Leonidas and consisted of about seven thousand men, the kernel of which was a corps of three hundred Spartans. Xerxes occupied Thessaly without opposition, and by August, 480 B.C., advanced to Thermopylæ to force the pass. The battle raged for two days, the flower of the Persians attacking the Greeks in the narrow defile in vain. On the third day, a troop was sent around on the heights above the pass, and the battle was renewed from front and rear. Retreat had been possible earlier and the bulk of the defenders had retired, but Leonidas and his Spartans remained and at last perished, overpowered by numbers. After the war was over, a monument was raised upon the hillock where the last stand was made, a lion carved in stone with the inscription:

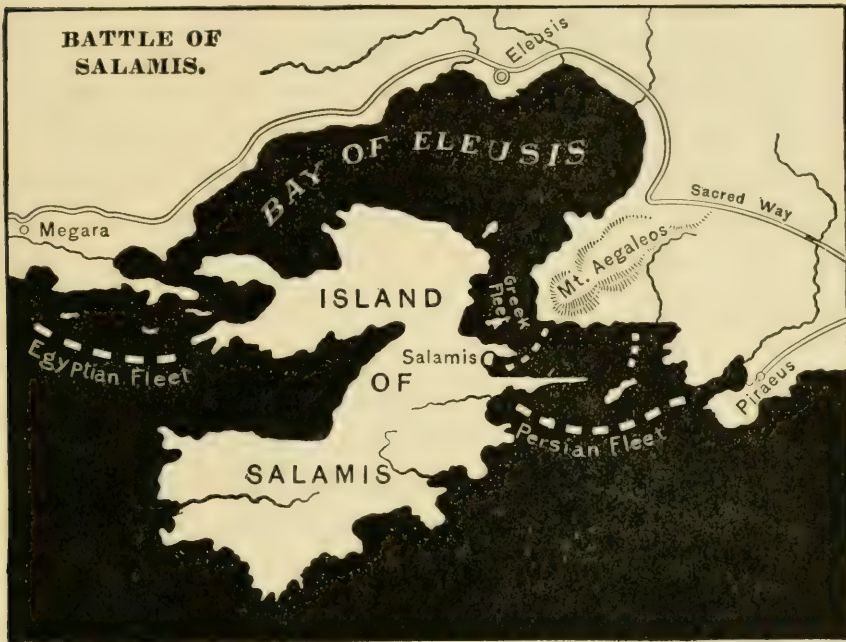
Stranger, report this word, we pray, to the Spartans, that lying here in this spot we remain, faithfully keeping their laws.

The Greek
Fleet.

150. Meanwhile the Persian fleet, sailing southward, had encountered a storm which destroyed some four hundred ships. The remainder, still a formidable host, advanced to the Pagasæan gulf. The Greek fleet was gathered at Artemisium on the north of Eubœa. Several encounters took place without decisive result, when the news of Thermopylæ decided the Greeks to withdraw to the Saronic gulf. The results thus far were distinctly unfavorable to the Greeks. The defeat of Thermopylæ opened middle Greece to the Persians, while the Greek fleet had not gained any compensating advantage. The decisive struggle still to come was transferred now to the very heart of the peninsula.

151. Xerxes moved down into Bœotia and took posses-

sion of the whole middle region. The Greeks, still pursuing their original plan, offered no resistance, but awaited the Persians at the Isthmus of Corinth, where they built a wall from one side to the other and stationed the Peloponnesian army under the command of Cleombrotus of Sparta, brother of Leonidas. Athens, therefore, was quite un-



protected, and measures were immediately taken for abandoning the country and transporting the inhabitants to Salamis, Ægina and the Peloponnesus. Soon the Persians came down and burned the city. The Greek fleet of about three hundred ships was now drawn up between Salamis and the Attic shore. There was great uncertainty among the commanders whether to fight the oncoming Persian fleet then and there, or to retreat to the Peloponnesian shore in order to keep in touch with the army.

Salamis.

Themistocles, who desired a battle where the Greeks then were, sent a messenger to Xerxes to warn him of the intended flight of the Greeks. The Persian king immediately sent two hundred Egyptian vessels to block up the western outlets, while the main fleet was stationed in front of the Greeks on the eastern side of the island. When the news was brought by Aristides, who had been recalled from exile, that the western passage was occupied, the Greeks saw themselves forced to give battle. It was well for them that the battle was fought here, for, in the narrow straits, their lighter ships and smaller numbers counted for much more, while the larger Persian fleet was crowded and hampered. About the 28th of September, 480 B.C., the fight began at break of day, and by night the Persians were completely beaten. Xerxes, whose throne had been set up on the slope of Mt. Ægaleos, witnessed the discomfiture of his navy. The next morning the remaining ships bore away to the eastward and disappeared.

Effect of
the Battle.

152. Salamis was the first of the battles with Persia that can properly be called a decisive victory. Its consequences appeared at once. The Greeks were now masters of the sea. The Persian army, without the support of a fleet, and in an enemy's country, must depend upon itself for support and success. A defeat would be ruin. Moreover, should the Greeks sail to the Hellespont, they could cut Xerxes's communications with his own land, stir up the Ionian cities to rebellion and force the Persian army to return home. That was precisely what Themistocles desired the fleet to do immediately after the battle, but the other commanders were unwilling to venture so far away from home. Xerxes was not slow in grasping the situation. He decided to go back at once to Asia, leaving Mardonius

with the bulk of the army to push forward the campaign next year.

153. The Persian army withdrew from Attica and went into winter quarters in Bœotia. The Athenians returned to their fields and rebuilt their homes. As spring (479 B.C.) came on, however, it was clear that unless the Peloponnesians advanced beyond the isthmus, Attica would again be laid waste by the Persians. But, in spite of the appeals of the Athenians, the Spartans failed to move, and Athens had again to be abandoned. Only the threat of the Athenians that they would make peace with Mardonius, who had given them all kinds of promises, forced the advance of the Peloponnesians. As they came out of the isthmus, the Persians retired from Attica and took up a position in the vicinity of Platæa. Mardonius was said to have an army of three hundred thousand men, well organized and equipped, and might reasonably hope for victory over the Greeks. They were numbered at about one hundred thousand men, drawn from the various Peloponnesian states and from Athens, under the command of Pausanias, the Spartan. The two opponents manœuvred for some days before Platæa, the Persian hoping that the Greeks would fall into quarrels among themselves or be unable to obtain provisions for so great a host. Finally, however, having caught Pausanias in the midst of a movement to change his base of operations, Mardonius hurled his finest troops upon the Spartan force. But the Spartans maintained their steadiness and discipline in the face of the enemy until ordered to charge. As at Marathon, so here, the onset of the hoplites was irresistible. They tore the opposing Persian force in pieces; Mardonius was killed; the Persian camp stormed. The

Platæa.

Persian general Artabazus succeeded in getting away into Asia with less than a fifth of the army. Thus, as Herodotus said, "was gained by Pausanias the most famous victory of all those about which we have knowledge." The Persians disappeared from Greek territory, never again to enter it.

Himera.

154. During these years two other battles were fought which completed the discomfiture of the Persians. In the west, Gelon of Syracuse (§ 148), who was attacked by the Carthaginians in alliance with Persia, defeated them decisively in the battle of Himera (480 B.C.), said to have been fought on the very day of Salamis. The Greek fleet, which had been inactive since the victory of Salamis, sailed in 479 B.C. over to Asia Minor, where the remnant of the Persian fleet was protecting the coast. On the approach of the Greeks the enemy's fleet was drawn up under protection of the army, on the shore of the promontory of Mycale. Here the Greeks attacked them and won a complete victory (479 B.C.) and thus gained control of the Ionian coast. Not a Persian ship was to be found on the Ægean sea. After capturing the city of Sestos, one of the keys to the Hellespont, the fleet returned to Greece.

Mycale.

Reasons
for Greek
Success.

155. Thus closed the critical years which resulted in warding off the Persian attack and triumphantly defending the independence of Greece. How it was all achieved, the Greeks themselves hardly knew. We see that (1) the Greek infantry with its long spears was more than a match for the Persian foot-soldiers with their bows, (2) the seamanship of the Greeks was better than that of the Persians, while (3) the strongest part of the Persian army, the cavalry, had no chance in the narrow valleys and mountain-

passes of Greece. (4) The union of the Greeks, limited and defective as it was, and (5) the consummate statesmanship of Themistocles, in creating and enlarging the navy of Athens and emphasizing the importance of the control of the sea, had no small part in securing victory.

156. The result of the conflict may be said to have been twofold. First, it emphasized and glorified all those elements of Greek life which the past centuries had been building up—the consciousness of Greek unity in the face of the outside world, the sentiments of independence, of patriotism and of freedom that had come to be the life of every Greek community. Second, it made Greece a world-power, transferred political supremacy from the east to the west and created among the leading Greek states aspirations after wider political influence and authority for which opportunities opened on every side.

Twofold
Result of
the
Struggle.

157. Two poets of the time revealed this sense of the power and glory of victorious Greece. Pindar, of Bœotia (about 522–448 B.C.), mightiest of the Lyric poets (§ 120), gained his chief fame by his *Odes*, glorifying the victors in the national games (§ 118). In them he celebrated all those characteristic qualities which the Greek revealed in the Persian struggle—his manly vigor, his love of beauty, his deep piety, his heroic temper, his joy in his splendid past, his freedom and moral independence, his serene faith in the higher powers, untroubled by doubt or fear. Æschylus (about 525–456 B.C.), the tragedian of Athens, himself fought at Marathon and Salamis, and celebrated the victories in his *Persæ*, a tragedy brought out in 472 B.C., in which he depicts the doom of the arrogant king who sets himself up against the Almighty. Æschylus was the real founder of tragedy; he introduced

The Liter-
ary Echo.

Pindar.

Æschylus.

the novelty of having two actors and a chorus, thus securing effective dramatic action. In his plays he uses the mythical and legendary tales of the heroes of old; *Prometheus*, *Agamemnon*, the *Seven against Thebes*, are some of his titles. He is the poet-preacher of righteousness, of the punishment of pride, of the supremacy of moral law over all beings, divine and human, of the inevitable payment for sin wherever committed. He moves in a superhuman world of grand, heroic, sinful, suffering beings over whom hangs the penalty of violated right and truth. The gods, who are jealous of the overweening might of the Great King and have brought him to ruin, are on the watch to avenge themselves upon such a spirit everywhere. So he warned, while he uplifted, the souls of his generation, and spoke words that live forever.

The Birth
of Greek
Imperial-
ism.

158. We have seen that the Greek states assumed new political importance in the world as the result of their victory. This was certain to transform Greek politics. Not the petty Greek communities, but only the leaders could enter into the race for world-power. In the struggle of these leaders with each other could Greek unity be preserved or Greek independence be maintained? These were the problems that sprang up when the fight for freedom from Persian supremacy was won. Thus it came to pass that Greek Imperialism was the child of the Persian Wars.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion.
2. THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT EMPIRE.

(a) The Wars with Persia: What led up to them (the advance of Persia, the Ionian Revolt)—the various expeditions (the first; the

second, Marathon and its effect; the ten years, new men and new policies at Athens; the expedition of Xerxes, the attitude of Greece, the battles east and west)—the outcome—literature—imperialism.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following noted: Persepolis, Miletus, Marathon, Laurium, Mt. Athos, Hellespont, Platæa, Mycale, Himera? 2. Who were Mardonius, Cyrus, Æschylus, Leonidas, Gelon, Aristides? 3. What is meant by tragedy, strategos, lyric poetry, mythical, legendary, imperialism, ostracism?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the attitude of the Lydians and the Persians toward the Ionian cities (§ 115). 2. Compare the growth of the Persian Empire (§§ 81, 82, 87, 90) with that of the Greek states. 3. Compare the relation of the Persian armies to the Persian government (§ 87) with that of the Greek armies toward their governments. 4. Plan an attack on Greece by Persia and the Greek means of resistance to the attack. 5. Read Browning's "Echetlos" as an interpretation of Greek spirit.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Ionian Revolt. Bury, pp. 241-247; Morey, pp. 174-176; Botsford, pp. 110-115; Shuckburgh, pp. 111-123. 2. The Campaign of Marathon. Bury, pp. 247-257; Shuckburgh, pp. 128-136; Zimmern, pp. 141-147. 3. Themistocles and His Policy. Plutarch, Life of Themistocles; Bury, pp. 263, 264; Botsford, pp. 124-126; Morey, pp. 181-184; Shuckburgh, pp. 138-142. 4. The Campaign of Xerxes. Bury, pp. 265-296; Botsford, pp. 127-136; Morey, pp. 184-192; Shuckburgh, pp. 142-171; Zimmern, pp. 148-191. 5. Incidents of the Battle of Salamis. Herodotus, VIII, §§ 40-42, 49-96. 6. Æschylus. Capps, ch. 8; Jebb, pp. 73-83; Murray, pp. 109-116. 7. Sicily in the Persian Wars. Bury, pp. 296-304; Botsford, pp. 136-139.

159. Out of the struggle against the Persian invaders two Greek powers came forth to reap the fruits of victory. Sparta, as the head of the Peloponnesian League, had been officially recognized as the leader in the conflict; but the heroic, determined and far-sighted activities of

(2) THE
RISE OF
ATHENS
TO IM-
PERIAL
POWER.

Athens during the wars had given her a foremost place in the estimation of all patriotic Greeks. Hence, the coming years reveal her as the rival of Sparta for the headship among the Greek states.

Herodotus testifies to the service of Athens in the great struggle as follows: "If a man should now say that the Athenians were the saviors of Greece, he would not exceed the truth. For they truly held the scales; and whichever side they espoused must have carried the day. They, too, it was, who, when they had determined to maintain the freedom of Greece, roused up that portion of the Greek nation which had not gone over to the Medes; and so next to the gods, *they* repulsed the invader."

Persia
Driven
from the
Ægean.

160. The first task which awaited the victors was to drive the Persians out of the Ægean sea and deliver the Asiatic Greeks from Persian domination. The Greek fleet under the Spartan king Pausanias (§ 153) undertook this task. But the arrogance of the victor of Plataea and the indifference of the ruling powers at Sparta provoked a reaction which resulted in the transference of the leadership to the Athenians under Aristides (§ 146). The work was brilliantly accomplished. With the exception of a few isolated cities, the Greek settlements on the entire Ægean coast and in the eastern Mediterranean as far as Cyprus were made free.

The Delian
Confeder-
acy
Formed.

161. It was clear, however, that this freedom could be maintained only by presenting a united front to the enemy. Hence, a new league sprang into being under the headship of Athens—a league of the Ægean cities. Large and small alike, they banded together to furnish a fleet for defence and offence against Persia (475 B.C.). Those who were unable or unwilling to furnish ships, contributed yearly a sum of money. The amount of the

ATHENS.



- 1 Pompeum
- 2 Gymnasium
- 3 House of Pnyx
- 4 House
- 5 Porticoes
- 6 Stoa of Attalus
- 7 Stoa of Eolus
- 8 Stoa of Basileus
- 9 Stoa of Basileus
- 10 Temple of Apollo
- 11 Senate House
- 12 Tholos
- 13 Temple of Zeus
- 14 Aphroditheion
- 15 Temple of Hephaestus
- 16 Gymnasium of Ptolemy
- 17 Thesum
- 18 Stoa of Hadrian
- 19 Market
- 20 Sanctuary of Demeter
- 21 Prytaneum
- 22 Prytaneum
- 23 Prytaneum
- 24 Prytaneum
- 25 Prytaneum
- 26 Prytaneum
- 27 Theatre
- 28 Temple of Zeus
- 29 Stadium
- 30 Place of Assembly
- 31 Precinct of Asclepius
- 32 Portico of Attalus

To the Academy
To Eleusis
SACRED WAY

OUTER CERAMICUS

SACRED GATE

PIRATIC GATE

MELITE

AGORA

AREOPAGUS

ACROPOLIS

LYCEUM

DIOMEA

COLLYTOS

INNER CERAMICUS

BARATHRON

KOILE

LIMNAE

AGRAE

R. Ilissus

Aqueduct of Pistratus

Diomean Gate

Melitan Gate

Phaleron

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contribution in each case was left to Aristides to determine, according to his judgment of the resources of each city. The pre-eminence of Athens was also recognized by giving her the command of the united fleet and by arranging that the yearly contributions should be collected by her. The total sum assessed upon the cities amounted to four hundred and sixty talents. The money was placed in the sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Delos. There the representatives of the various cities met to deliberate upon common interests. Hence the league received the name of the Delian Confederacy.

162. Meanwhile the Athenians at home under the guidance of Themistocles were making rapid strides forward. He saw clearly into the political situation—the opportunity for Athens to take its place at the head of the Greek world. If Aristides was the active agent of the advance of the city abroad, he supplied the vital energy for the forward movement. Under his inspiration Athens rose again from her ruins larger than before and was surrounded by a strong wall. The Piræus, the port of Athens, was fortified and its harbors protected by moles. Some years after (458 B.C.), the city and the port were joined by long walls, a device which freed Athens from fear of assault by land and gave her unhindered access to the sea. Thus she became independent of Spartan interference and was able to direct all her energies to establishing her maritime supremacy.

163. The revival and extension of Greek commerce assisted in bringing about Athenian predominance. With the driving of the Persians from the Ægean and—it might almost be added—from the Mediterranean, sea-trade fell into Greek hands. It was natural that the bulk of

Athens
Rebuilt.

The New
Com-
mercial
Situation.

this trade should centre about Athens. The cities of the Asia Minor coast were cut off from trading with the interior because of the hostility of Persia. The other towns on the Ægean were small. All were inclined to follow the lead of Athens in commercial as in political matters. Thus the immense increase of Greek commerce contributed to her upbuilding. She became the chief mart where ships gathered from the entire Greek world. The only formidable rival was Corinth, whose connections with the west were many and close. Athens's commercial supremacy naturally opened the way for her political predominance. She made many commercial treaties with her allies, an important condition of which was that all difficulties rising out of trade should be adjusted in the Athenian law-courts in accordance with Athenian law. From this it was natural to go on to require that all disagreements should follow the same course, until finally the majority of the cases at law among the members of the League were tried at Athens. The advantages of this system were great. One code, and that the best in all Greece, was extended over many communities whose sense of justice had not become so fine and high as that of Athens. Yet it meant for them the giving up to Athens of one of the sovereign powers of the state—the administration of justice—and placed Athens in a position in which she became greater than a mere ally.

**Favors
Athens.**

**Political
Primacy of
Athens in
the Con-
federacy.**

**Develop-
ment of
Athens
into an
Imperial
State.**

164. Other things tended to push her forward. The Persians were not able to make head against so formidable a league and ceased to attempt opposition. Hence, as fear of their attacks lessened, the allies began to feel that union for defence against them was not so necessary. The yearly contributions were made more grudgingly. Some

cities were even desirous of withdrawing. But Athens held rightly that as the union of states had brought about this condition of safety, so only a continuance of the union could maintain it; hence, that states delinquent in their contributions should be forced to pay and those who attempted to withdraw should be compelled to remain. Thus, when Naxos rebelled in 466 B.C. and Thasos in 465 B.C., they were reduced to subjection by the Athenian fleet. The Delian League was fast becoming an Athenian Imperial State.

165. Naturally, Sparta had regarded the rise of Athens with disfavor, and recognizing Themistocles as its author, desired his downfall. Through his diplomacy her opposition to the building of the fortifications of Athens (§ 162) had amounted to nothing. She had been unable to make much headway because of troubles at home occasioned by the ambition of King Pausanias. He recklessly aimed at making himself lord of Sparta and thereby of all Greece. He even entered into treasonable correspondence with the Persians and intrigued with the Helots (§ 132) to induce them to rebel. But now at Athens the influence of Themistocles began to wane before that of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the hero of Marathon. He was a high-born, rich, genial, successful general who had succeeded Aristides in the command of the Athenian fleet. He was no far-seeing statesman like Themistocles, but, for that very reason, was nearer the majority who failed to follow the greater leader in his radical plans for Athenian empire. Cimon's policy was conservative. He favored continuing war on Persia and renewing friendship with Sparta. In the end Themistocles was ostracized (471 B.C.). Later, when the Spartans got rid of their difficulties with Pausa-

Fall of
Pausanias.

Rise of
Cimon.

Fall of
Themis-
tocles.

Cimon,
Leader of
Athens.

nias by putting him to death, they claimed to find evidence in his papers that Themistocles had joined in his treasonable plans. The exile was forced to find refuge with the Persians, where he died some years after. Cimon's leadership of Athens was marked by a splendid victory over the Persians at the Eurymedon (466 B.C.) and by his bringing aid to the Spartans in their struggles with the rebellious Helots of Messenia. But the Spartans declined his help and he returned in disgrace.

Democracy
Popular in
the Greek
World.

166. Another cause of Sparta's suspicion of Athens, besides that occasioned by her sudden rise to power, was the influence of her democratic constitution. Her vigor and heroism in the Persian struggle had rightly been attributed to her democratic spirit, and, along with her advancement, democratic ideas and institutions had begun to be popular elsewhere. When the Ionian cities were freed from the Persian yoke, they set up democratic governments. The impulse spread to the Peloponnesus, where Argos, Arcadia and Elis became democratic. In the far west the cities of Sicily followed the same example; Syracuse established a democracy on the death of the tyrant Hiero (467 B.C.), the successor of Gelon (§ 154). In almost every city of Greece, even in aristocratic states like those of Bœotia, a democratic party appeared which followed in the footsteps of Athens and looked to her for support. It was not strange that Sparta, which had been steadily growing more aristocratic as her pure-blooded Spartan citizens grew fewer and fewer in number, should view this state of things with increasing uneasiness, and take a firmer stand in favor of oligarchy against democracy in general, and especially against Athens, its exemplar.

167. During these years the government at Athens

was coming more and more into the hands of the people. The provisions of the constitutions of Solon and Cleisthenes (§§ 137, 139) were broadened or changed in their interest. But the Council of the Areopagus (§ 134), by its judicial and legal powers, was a check to their power in Public Assembly and Law-Courts. Its organization out of a special class of ex-officials and its self-perpetuating character were likewise inconsistent with popular government. Hence, new leaders of the democracy, Ephialtes and Pericles, induced the people to pass a law which deprived it of these powers (462 B.C.). This was in direct opposition to the policy of the conservatives under Cimon, and the victory of the Democracy, aided by the failure of his Spartan policy (§ 165), was followed by his ostracism (467 B.C.). The powers of the Areopagus were divided between the Boule (§ 137), the Heliæa (§ 137) and the Public Assembly. A little later, in 457 B.C., the office of archon was thrown open to the less wealthy citizens, the Zeugitæ (§ 137). It became the fashion to have a large part of the public business done or supervised by Boards of citizens. Thus there was the Board of Education, of Finance, of Dockyards, of Religion. The officials were held to a very strict reckoning. A Board of Auditors supervised all their accounts.

Growth of
Democracy
at Athens.

Rise of
Pericles.

Fall of
Cimon.

The
Athenian
Democ-
racy.

168. In general, the government was undertaken by the citizens themselves in Public Assembly (Ecclesia). This Ecclesia had certain limitations upon its activity. All measures, whether laws or administrative acts, must first pass through the Boule and, by a committee of the Boule, be presented to the Ecclesia. All laws must be finally approved by the Heliæa. Moreover, to keep citizens from offering too many new laws, the regulation was

The
Athenian
Ecclesia.

made that anyone who proposed a new law or decree was liable to prosecution, if it was found to be contrary to existing law. Yet, even with all these limitations, the power of the Ecclesia, both in its direct administrative activity and its indirect authority over all officials, was very great. It declared war, made peace, controlled finance, directed commerce, maintained and guarded religion, determined home and foreign policy.

The
Athenian
Law-
Courts.

169. As the citizens in Public Assembly governed the state, so in the Law-Courts or Heliæa they administered justice directly. All cases, whether civil or criminal, came before them. For practical work the whole body was divided into sections called dicasteries, each numbering from two hundred to one thousand citizens or even more. Those who came before the court pleaded their cause themselves. No lawyers were permitted to speak, though soon a class of men appeared who wrote speeches for delivery by the pleaders. As the same citizens acted as judges and legislators, it was presumed that they knew the law and passed judgment according to it. And though the dangers of prejudice and ignorance were not always avoided, the legal system and the judicial fairness of the law-courts of Athens were superior to those anywhere else in the world.

The
Citizens
as Officials.

170. This active conduct of the state by its citizens meant that all had a part in it. It has been estimated that each man was brought into the service of the state as an official at least once in sixteen years, besides taking part in the Law-Courts and the Ecclesia. Much time was required, and this could be spared with difficulty from daily work. Hence, pay for certain kinds of state service was introduced. Members of the Boule received a drachma

—twenty cents—a day, and the jurors in the Heliæa two obols—six cents—a day.* Attendance at the Assembly was not paid nor did the higher officials receive salary.

171. But who was to lead the citizens in their Public Assembly and suggest lines of policy and courses of action? In theory this was the privilege of any citizen. But the Athenians had not developed that confidence in themselves as individuals, nor had they entirely lost that dependence upon the aristocratic families, which would permit them to turn their theory into practice. We have already seen that the strategoi occupied the most honorable positions in the state (§ 145) and that the chief strategos was elected by the Public Assembly. He was their best man and as such became their leader and took the position of “demagogue.” This position was entirely unofficial. It gave him no legal power. He led the people because he was able to persuade them that his plans and policy were the best. Themistocles, Aristides and Cimon are examples of such leadership. And at this time came forward another who, by virtue of his descent, personality and character, guided the history of Athens for thirty years. This was Pericles, a member of the noble family of the Alcmaeonidæ to which Cleisthenes had belonged. In the conflicts about the overthrow of the Areopagus, Ephialtes had been murdered, and with his death Pericles stood alone as the leader of the democracy. The changes that have been described, which turned the government into a practical rule of the people, were made under his direction. Though he was an aristocrat who knew and maintained his distance from the people with a dignity

The
Strategos.

Pericles the
Leader of
Athenian
Politics.

* It must be remembered that the purchasing power of money was much greater then than now.

that often seemed coldness, he nevertheless took their cause to his heart, awed and convinced them by his incorruptible and lofty ideals, and swayed them by his clear and glowing eloquence. Trusted and followed by the citizens, he ruled them as their servant, and moulded the destiny of the state as no king or tyrant could ever do.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion.

2. THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT EMPIRE.

(a) The Persian Wars. (b) The Rise of the Athenian Empire : Elements assisting it (the war with Persia, the Ægean cleared, Delian Confederacy formed, Athens rebuilt, commercial situation) —Athens at the head of the Confederacy (her law supreme, her power dominant)—politics at Sparta and Athens (Pausanias falls, Cimon and Themistocles)—the spread of democracy—Athenian democracy (Areopagus overthrown, Cimon falls, democracy triumphant, the ecclesia, the law-courts, officials, strategos, Pericles the leader).

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. What events are connected with the names of Pausanias, Cimon, Themistocles, Aristides? 2. For what are the following places noted: Delos, Eurymedon? 3. What was the date of the founding of the Delian Confederacy; of the ostracism of Themistocles? 4. What is meant by Areopagus, Heliæa, Ecclesia, drachma, dicastery, helot?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the Delian Confederacy with the Peloponnesian League (§ 132). 2. Compare Athens in the years 500 B.C. and 476 B.C.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Confederacy of Delos. Morey, pp. 205-207; Bury, pp. 328-330; Shuckburgh, pp. 173-176. 2. Themistocles and the Recovery of Athens. Bury, pp. 330-334; Morey, pp. 202-205; Zimmern, 192-197. 3. Fall of Pausanias and Themistocles. Bury, pp. 324-326, 334-336; Shuckburgh, pp. 178-181; Zim-

mern, pp. 198-204. 4. Athens and the Confederacy. Bury, pp. 336-342; West, pp. 160-162; Botsford, pp. 151-153. 5. Cimon. Plutarch, Life of Cimon; Bury, pp. 342-345; Morey, pp. 207-209; Zimmern, pp. 205-213; Botsford, pp. 152-156.

172. The thirty years (461-431 B.C.) of the leadership of Pericles is the supreme period of the Athenian state. It reached the highest place of wealth, culture and power. To Pericles and his wise direction of affairs this state of things was largely due, and the period is properly called the "Age of Pericles." As the scene includes the whole of Greece, we shall take advantage of it to study, with Athens as the central point: (a) the inner life of the Greek world in its general features, and (b) the political condition and course of affairs, as they prepared the way for the civil wars which gave Greece her death-blow.

(3) THE
AGE OF
PERICLES

173. The chief characteristic of the age is the growth of city life. The attempts of Solon and Pisistratus (§§ 137, 139) to better the lot of the Attic peasants did not succeed. The introduction of money and the necessity of competing with grain brought from across the sea steadily reduced the farmers to poverty. At the same time the opportunities for making a living in the city and enjoying life there grew greater, and multitudes of countrymen flocked thither. Their lands fell to the nobles or capitalists who themselves lived in the city and worked their wide estates by slave labor. The attractions of trade also brought large numbers of foreigners to reside more or less permanently in the cities. The result was that city populations reached their highest point. According to probable estimates, Athens numbered not less than 250,000 people; Syracuse was not far behind; Corinth and Ægina reached about 100,000; Sparta and Argos were much smaller, and there was a

(a) The
Inner Life
of Greece.

Growth of
the City.

of the population—grain and fish from the Black sea, meats from Thessaly and Sicily, fruits from Eubœa, Rhodes and Phœnicia. Costly woods came from Crete, ivory from Libya, carpets from Carthage, incense from Syria and books from Egypt. “The fruits of the whole earth,” said Pericles, “flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.” The incorporation of the cities of the Delian League into the Athenian Empire still further stimulated commerce at Athens and throughout the various cities. One law and one system governed all their transactions with one another.

175. Thus opportunity was offered for a large increase of wealth. We have seen the older idea gradually passing away, that true property was property in land (§§ 125, 130). Now, although the aristocracy still cherished the notion and took pride in their estates, manufacturing, trade and dealing in money afforded to the many the largest opportunity for acquiring property and the best standard for estimating it. A thoroughly organized system of coinage was in operation. The principal silver coin was the drachma (nearly 20 cents); there were also two, three and four drachma pieces. Of smaller coins the chief was the obol (about three cents); six of them made a drachma. A copper coin, the chalkons, was one-eighth of the obol. The standard of monetary exchange was the talent (about \$1,180), containing sixty minas (the mina about \$20); the mina contained 100 drachmas. Gold coins were usually those of foreign countries. Later, the gold stater, in value perhaps equal to twenty drachmas, was coined. Money had a greater purchasing power than at present, and therefore the large fortunes of that day seem small to us. A capital of from \$12,000 to \$15,000

**Increase of
Wealth.**

Coinage.

placed one in the ranks of the rich. Such men of wealth found abundant opportunities for loaning their money, since all sorts of manufacturing and commercial enterprises needed capital. The usual rate of interest on good security was about twelve per cent.

Greeks not
Great Cap-
italists.

176. It seems clear, however, that in general the Greeks had no such comprehension of business, nor did they so fully recognize the importance of encouraging trade, as did the ancient Babylonians. They were slow to see that "money-making" was a desirable activity. It was enough that all should live according to their station and serve the state as service was required. Even though to be a landholder was by that time not regarded as indispensable to good social standing, wealth did not of itself make its possessor a man highly regarded. On the contrary, a merchant or trader, however rich he might be, was looked down upon. The ordinary citizen, living on the modest proceeds of his daily work, or supported by the scanty dole of the state for his public service, was more honorable. Hindrances were put in the way of commerce, and limits were assigned to the profits to be gained. Yet commerce grew and thrived in spite of public sentiment. Only because the advantages of having money could not be denied, did the struggle for it continue to absorb more and more of the energies of the citizens. Yet it never approached the importance and prominence which it has to-day. The Greek thought more of what he was than of what he had; to serve the state and to enjoy life as well as to enlarge his opportunities of doing both, these were more desirable in his eyes than absorption in business and the pursuit of wealth.

Greek
Attitude
toward
Money.

177. The result of this was that the business of Athens

was carried on chiefly by foreigners who were permitted to settle in the city; they were called *metoikoi*. The leaders of the state saw clearly the advantages of encouraging them to pursue their businesses, and they were more liberally dealt with at Athens than elsewhere. Apart from having no citizen-rights and being compelled to pay a tax to the state, they were on an equality with other free-men. The same laws protected them; the same privileges were granted them. As a result many of them were found at Athens, and in this period they numbered about 30,000 persons.

Foreigners
in Busi-
ness.

178. From an economic and social point of view the most important class of the population was the slaves. Their unpaid labor was employed in tilling the great estates, in working the mines, in turning out manufactured articles and in doing all sorts of household service. They made it possible for the citizen to obtain the leisure necessary to perform his political duties and to enjoy the opportunities for culture which the state afforded. As the activities of the cities enlarged, the number of slaves also increased. The slave-trade became more important; the supply from the North Ægean and Black sea region was abundant; captives in war were sold. Every city had a large slave population; that at Athens has been estimated at about 100,000 and the other large cities had proportionate numbers. They formed, one might say, the foundation of the social structure.

The Slave.

179. Another social element, the family, throws an instructive side-light upon Greek life. The equality and freedom which reigned in the best public life of the time had no place in the life at home. The husband was absolute ruler in his household, and his wife was a nonentity.

The
Family.

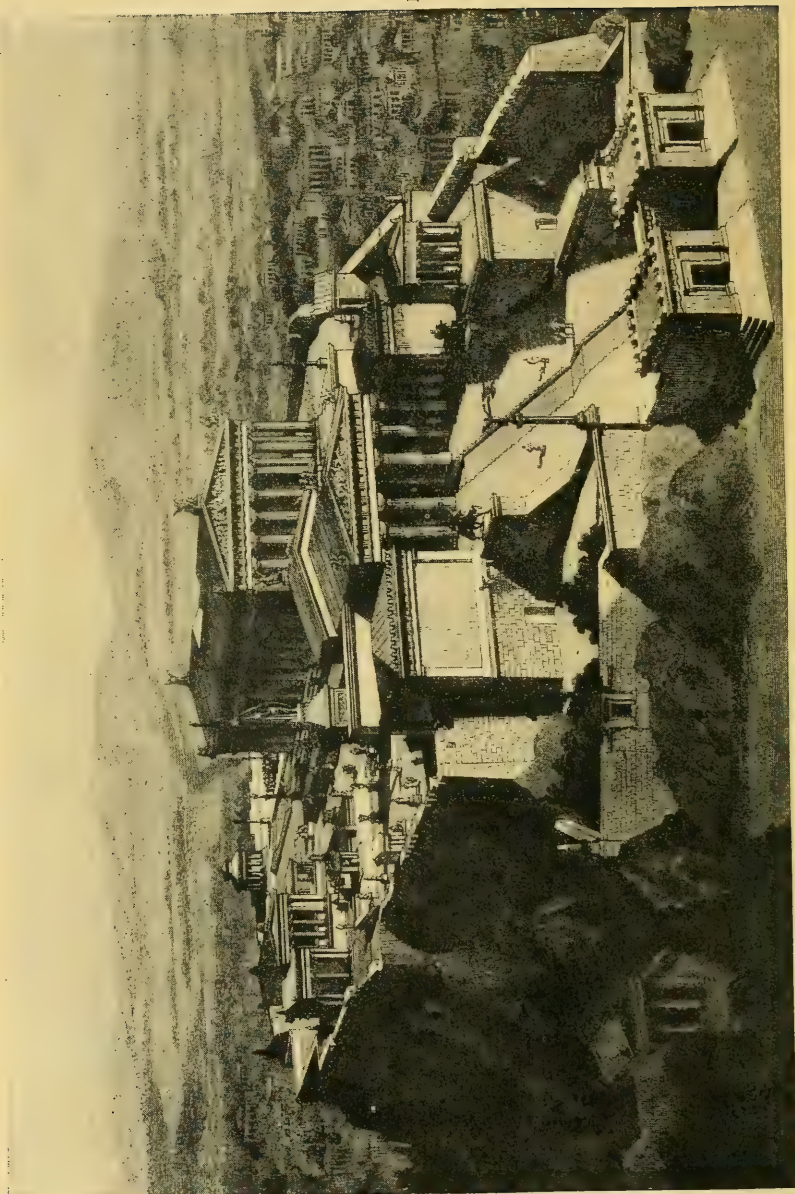
Woman.

He spent little time at home; she seldom left it. Here the Greek was far behind the Oriental of Babylonia and Egypt (§ 25), where woman had a relatively high place in society. Indeed, in some respects, the cultured and free Athenian did not respect woman as highly as the rude Spartan, who gave her much larger liberty. In the earlier ages of the aristocratic rule the wives of the nobles seem to have had greater influence, but it is one of the strange inconsistencies of Greek life that the new democracy and the larger city-life both worked to lower the position of woman. The wife did not even have charge of the household, which was managed by a steward. She usually brought a dowry to her husband, which in case of divorce had to be repaid to her father. On the whole, nowhere is the limitation of the Greek ideal of life more distinctly manifest than in the position of woman and the contribution of the family to society. The Greeks thought of marriage chiefly as a means of raising up citizens for the state; an interesting illustration of this idea is seen in the law introduced in Pericles's time, that only he could be accepted as a citizen whose father and mother were Athenians by blood. Naturally, girls were not as desirable as boys, and little attention was paid to them beyond keeping them indoors. The

Education.

boy, however, was very carefully reared. Grammar, music and gymnastics were the three parts of his education. By the first was meant the learning of his own language and the study of Homer and the other early poets, not merely as a means of training in forms of speech, but as sources of knowledge about life, duty and religion. In music, he was taught how to sing, and to play on musical instruments. Gymnastics included running and wrestling, practice in the use of weapons, riding and other

Parthenon



Erechtheum.

Temple of
Victory.

Propylaea.

Statue of Athene.

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS (RESTORED)

similar exercises for the finest bodily development and skill in arms.

180. Greek society then was chiefly a society of men whose main interests lay in public life. The house, for example, was ordinarily small and unattractive. It faced directly on the street, often with no opening except the door which swung outward, a fact suggestive of the preference of the Greek for the open air. The women's apartments were separate and secluded. Indeed, the house served the Greek chiefly for sleeping purposes, the storing of his goods and the keeping of his household. From it he sallied out very early in the morning, after a taste of wine and bread, to meet his friends, or engage in public business in the assembly or elsewhere. Toward the middle of the day he took breakfast or lounged about and gossiped in the public walks or porticoes. The gymnasium occupied him in the afternoon as a place of exercise or of intercourse with friends, whence he returned home for dinner, the chief meal of the day. If a poor man, he went early to bed; if well-to-do and socially inclined, he spent the evening at a banquet with his friends.

The House.

Daily Life.

181. The Athens of Pericles offered the finest type of this manner of life to be found in the fifth century. The pursuit of wealth was subordinated to the joy of making the most of life among one's fellows and in public activity. The "glorification of cultivated human intercourse" was the ideal toward which men strove. The pinch of want was removed by the stipend sufficient for simple living which the state paid its poorest citizen for his work in its service. Orphans and cripples were cared for at public expense. Public lands, obtained as the outcome of war, were assigned to citizens who were willing to go and live

**High Plane
of Living.**

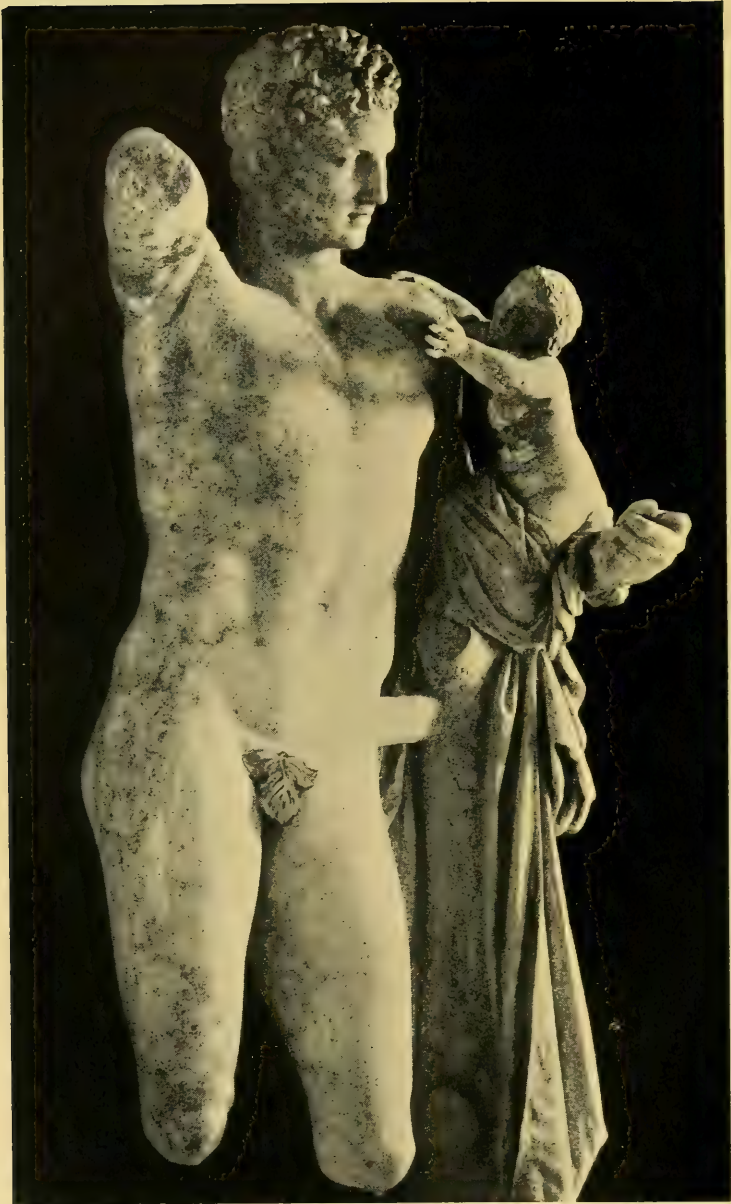
upon them. Two features of this life which had an especially important bearing on the material welfare of the citizen and his higher culture deserve special mention: the public buildings and the religious festivals.

Public
Buildings.

182. In Greece, as in ancient Babylonia (§ 34), the chief buildings of every city were its temples. They were the centres of public life, of business as well as of religion. They were the places of deposit for money or treasure of any sort. Although, in the Greek states, the growth of popular government and the emphasis on the independence of the individual had made the political predominance of the priest impossible and his influence on public affairs unimportant, yet religion continued to be glorified by stately and beautiful temples, adorned with the highest artistic skill. The Athenian temples had perished in the successive onslaughts of the Persians, and it was a duty as well as a pious delight on the part of the citizens to restore them. Cimon had begun the work on a noble scale, but Pericles continued the task and carried it through in a fashion that has immortalized his own name as well as that of Athens. An artist of the highest genius was at his hand in the person of Phidias, who was assisted by other men of uncommon ability. The principal scene of this architectural and artistic display was the Acropolis (§ 133); and the building in which it reached its height was the temple of Athene the Virgin (*Parthenos*), hence called the Parthenon. Unlike the famous structures of the Ancient East, it was not the immense size of the Parthenon, but its beautiful proportions, exquisite adornment and ideal sculptures that made it memorable. It was one hundred feet wide, two hundred and twenty-six feet long and sixty-five feet high, built of marble and

The
Athenian
Temples.

The Par-
thenon.



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES

painted in harmonious colors. A row of forty-six Doric columns surrounded it, and every available space above the columns, within and without, was carved in relief with scenes representing glorious events in the religious history of Athens. A wonderfully sculptured frieze, extending for more than five hundred feet around the inner temple, depicted, with a variety and energy never surpassed, scenes in the Panathenæa, the festival in honor of the patron goddess, Athene. In the temple stood a statue of the deity, the masterpiece of Phidias, made of ivory and gold, thirty-eight feet in height including the pedestal. Though the statue has long since disappeared and the temple itself is but a ruin, the remains of it illustrate supremely the chief features of Greek architecture—"simplicity, harmony, refinement," the union of strength and beauty.

183. Nowhere in the Greek world were the religious festivals celebrated with so great splendor and beauty as in the Athens of Pericles. In addition to the Dionysiac festivals already mentioned (§ 138), a new one had been established some time before, the Greater Dionysia, celebrated in March. The contests in tragedy and comedy had been transferred to it. Here, before the Athenian public, some of the most glorious productions of human genius were produced. Here Æschylus (§ 157) had taught his tremendous lessons of righteousness and humility. He was succeeded by Sophocles (about 496–406 B.C.), who won the prize over his older competitor in 468 B.C., and gained it many times thereafter. He represents the high, free and glad spirit of the Athens of his day. His most famous play is the *Antigone*, in which is brought out the victory of duty over the fear of death,

The Religious
Festivals of
Athens.

The Plays.

Sophocles.

of the higher law of God over the visible law of man. Antigone buries the body of her brother, though the king has forbidden it under pain of death. The serene soul of the poet is marvellously shown in the beauty and dignity of his style. He sang of men as they ought to be, revealing and idealizing human character, which at its best is, in his inspired vision, harmonious with the blessed will of God. So he interpreted the supreme ideal of the age of Pericles and lived it himself. "He died well, having suffered no evil." A later poet, imagining him in the other world, described him as "gentle" there, "even as he was gentle among us."

The
Eleusinian
Mysteries.

184. Another famous festival was that of the Mysteries (§ 124) of Eleusis. Eleusis lay twelve miles away from Athens, and every year in August multitudes gathered in the capital to make in solemn procession the journey to the Eleusinian temple to be initiated into the mysteries or to renew the celebration of them. A day of purification by washing in the sea preceded the moving of the procession, which passed along the sacred way to the splendid temple at Eleusis, rebuilt by Ictinus under Pericles's direction. Here those secret acts of worship and devotion to the goddess Demeter were performed, which exercised so deep, wholesome and hopeful an influence upon Greek life. Yet by far the most splendid of all festivals was the Panathenæa, celebrated with peculiar magnificence every fifth year, a festival which glorified at the same time the goddess Athene, and the city of her joy and glory. For nearly a week contests in music, song and recitation, in gymnastics, races and warlike sports, were held, and all was concluded with a solemn procession to the temple of Athene on the Acrop-

The
Panathe-
næa.

olis, where a costly robe woven by the maidens of the city was given to the goddess. That procession, made up of the flower of the Athenian citizens, of resident aliens and colonists, was depicted on the frieze of the Parthenon (§ 182) and formed the finest picture of Athens in the days of its highest splendor.

185. At a Panathenæan festival in the days of Pericles, Herodotus is said to have recited his *History*, the first prose work of genius that Greece produced. Herodotus (about 484-425 B.C.) was a native of Halicarnassus in Ionia, but after the days of his youth found a second home at Athens. He travelled, with eyes and ears wide open, all over the world, from the capitals of Persia to Italy, and from the Black sea to the southern border of Egypt. The results of his investigations he gathered into a work which finds its motive in the Persian wars. As he portrays successively before us the rise of Persia, the conquest of Babylon and Egypt, the past history of these peoples, the Scythian expedition, he leads up to the great, the supreme struggle between this mighty, world-conquering Empire and the petty Greek states. Then he describes the wars in detail. The whole is a prose poem, pointing the moral of Æschylus (§ 157). Scattered through this broad field are innumerable anecdotes, traditions, legends, which enliven while they do not break the single impression. Devoted to Athens, he glorified the part taken by the city in the war; he loved her institutions and enjoyed her society. His work shares in the artistic, keen and genial spirit characteristic of her best days, and while descriptive and not critical, its originality and charm have given it a permanent place in literature.

The Educa-
tion of the
Athenian
Citizen.

186. We are ready to understand now how Athens realized the ideal of "the glorification of cultivated human intercourse" (§ 181), the elevation of a body of men possessed of social and political equality to a common height of intelligence and general culture never reached before that day, or probably since. All beheld daily these marvels of architecture and art, and many took part in their erection. All joined in these splendid festivals, witnessed or contended in the athletic, musical and literary contests. By state payment to the poorer citizens of the price of admission to the theatre, all were able to see and hear the plays of Æschylus or Sophocles. It must be remembered that these theatrical exhibitions were also contests between rival authors, in which the people themselves were judges. Thus a standard of taste and appreciation was set at a very high mark. The participation in public life, the decisions on points of state policy which lay in the hands of the citizens, were all means of training. The popular law-courts cultivated the judicial faculty. The administration of the affairs of the state awakened and trained executive ability. Thus the higher powers of the great body of citizens were educated to an extraordinary degree; the experience made the Athenians the most splendidly intelligent of all Greeks. Such an atmosphere of breadth and freedom, that encouraged higher thought, invited to Athens from all over the Greek world men who were eager to know and to teach. As a consequence the best that was thought and said and done in art and politics and literature was found at Athens. Therefore, it was no vain boast of Pericles, but sober truth, when he said, "Athens is the school of Greece, and the individual Athenian in his own person

Athens the
Teacher of
Greece.

seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace."

187. But whence came the money to meet the expenses of this highly and richly organized system of government? Athens had various sources of revenue: rent from state lands, including especially the gold and silver mines, tolls for markets, and harbor dues, the tax on resident foreigners, the fees from the theatres, the receipts from the law-courts in fees, confiscations, etc., and in case of great necessity, a direct assessment upon the people of property. The costs of the splendid exhibitions at festivals were borne by the free-will offerings of rich citizens, and many offices were without salary. The entire income from all sources was about 1,000 talents yearly. Besides this, the receipts from the allied cities of the league amounted at this time to about 600 talents. Athene also possessed a great sum of money in her temple from gifts of the pious, her share of the booty in war, etc., and she was called upon to contribute her share to the upbuilding of the state, as well as to lend money when required. From all these sources Pericles drew the money needful for the various departments of the administration and for the public buildings with which the city was adorned.

Sources of
Athenian
Revenue.

188. From this sketch of the inner life (§§ 173-187) we pass to the foreign relations of Athens under the leadership of Pericles during the same period (461-431 B.C.). The fall of Cimon (§ 167) was accompanied not only by the victory of democracy at home, but also by a forward policy abroad, the chief aim of which was to extend Athenian power on all sides and to oppose Spartan leadership. Alliance was made with Argos and Thessaly; Megara

(b) Greek
Politics
in the Age
of Pericles.

Growth of
Athenian
Land
Power.

was drawn away from the Peloponnesian League. A naval station was secured on the Corinthian gulf at Naupactus. These movements threatened the commerce



Wars.

of Ægina and Corinth, who began war in 459 B.C. Corinth was beaten; Ægina was subjected and compelled to enter the Delian League. Then Sparta took a hand in the war, by entering Bœotia with an army, on the pretence of punishing the Phocians, but really to organize

Bœotia against Athens. Though the Spartans defeated the Athenians at Tanagra in 457 B.C., they accomplished nothing. Bœotia went over to Athens the next year. Soon after, the Achæan cities on the southern coast of the Corinthian gulf joined her. Thus Athenian influence on land extended over a wide territory. But it was also very unstable. A truce for five years was made with Sparta in 450 B.C., but Argos, Megara, Bœotia and Eubœa fell away; and so, in the end, though Eubœa was recovered, the vigorous and costly attempt of Athens to build up a great land power in Greece signally failed. It was never renewed. Finally, in 445 B.C., between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies a peace was made that was to last thirty years.

Failure of
the
Athenian
Land
Empire.

Peace.

189. Meanwhile, Athens had been carrying on the war with Persia (§§ 160, 161). Though no Persian ships appeared in the Ægean, the Athenians determined to cripple the power of the Great King still further by aiding a rebellion against him in Egypt. In 459 B.C. they sent a strong fleet to the Nile. Though at first successful, the rebellion was finally crushed and the Athenian force destroyed (454 B.C.). This serious blow brought hostilities to an end until 449 B.C., when Cimon, who had been recalled from exile, was sent with a fleet to Cyprus, where the Persians were attacking the Greek cities. He died while on the expedition, but the fleet gained a brilliant victory by which Persia was again driven from the sea. These conflicts had cost Athens dear in men and money without corresponding results, so that just as she had come to an agreement with her enemies in Greece, it seemed wise to make peace with Persia. Negotiations were entered upon by sending Callias to Susa, and though

The War
with
Persia.

Death of
Cimon.

The Peace
of Callias.

the Great King would not formally agree to yield his claim upon cities that had rebelled against him, yet practically he consented, henceforth, not to molest Greek cities or Greek ships. This so-called peace is known as the Peace of Callias (448 B.C.).

The
Athenian
Empire.

190. Thus Athens in 445 B.C. was at peace with all the world. She had learned the folly of attempting to control all Greece, and now set about recovering her strength and developing her legitimate field, that of commerce and control of the seas. The decisive steps were taken which turned the Delian League into the Athenian Empire. About 454 B.C., after the Athenian disaster in Egypt, the treasury of the League had been removed for greater security from Delos to Athens. And now, although all fear of Persia was removed by the Peace of Callias, the imperial city continued to require the yearly contributions from the allies and dealt with the money according to her own will. The decision to treat the allies in this way was not reached without a struggle between the parties at Athens. The opponents of Pericles were led by Thucydides, son of Melesias, the ostracism of whom in 443 B.C. settled the matter. Samos, Chios and Lesbos alone remained on the old footing of furnishing ships to the fleet. All the others were subject and paid tribute. Athens collected the tolls in their harbors, interfered in their local affairs in the interests of democracy, had garrisons in many of their cities, sent out inspectors among them, required many to destroy their walls. Colonies of Athenian citizens, called *cleruchi*, were sent out to occupy lands which had fallen into the hands of the Athenian state, and thus constituted a body of faithful friends in the midst of restless subjects. The entire body of

Organiza-
tion.

cities thus dependent on Athens was divided for administrative and financial purposes into five districts: Ionia, Caria, the Hellespont, Thrace, the Islands. Thus a stately imperial system arose with its centre in democratic Athens. The chief reason for censuring Athens because of this transformation of the old Delian League is that she took no steps to attach her subjects to herself otherwise than by fear. No doubt she gave them protection, better government and higher culture, but she had robbed them of their independence without granting them citizenship in the new community or a voice in the state. This blind selfishness and unblushing arrogance of power brought its fitting punishment before the century was over.

**Athens's
Great
Mistake.**

191. Far beyond the bounds of the Empire Pericles sought to extend the commercial influence and activity of Athens. The Persian peace opened the ports of the eastern Mediterranean, and Phœnician traders with the wares of the Orient again appeared in Greek waters. Many of the distant Greek cities of the Black sea acknowledged Athenian authority. The commercial importance of the Imperial City grew continually in the West and opportunity was found to establish political relations there. In 443 B.C., under the leadership of Athens, the city of Thurii was founded in southeastern Italy. On its west coast Athenian merchants began to gather the trade into their own hands. The leading people of that region, the Etruscans, bought Attic vases and sold their curious metal-work in the Athenian market. Rome, a city on the river Tiber, which held a dominating place in its own district of Latium, was already preparing for the mighty part it was to play in the centuries to come. In 454 B.C., it is said, the Romans sent an embassy to

**Wide Ex-
tent of
Athenian
Influence.**

Embassy
from
Rome.

Greece to study its systems of law. They came to Athens and thence transplanted parts of the legislation of Solon into Roman soil. It was a thrilling moment in history—the first direct and definite contribution made by Greek life to that people which was destined ultimately to rule a wider world than the Greeks ever imagined!

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion.
2. THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT EMPIRE.

(a) The Persian Wars. (b) The Rise of the Athenian Empire.
(c) The Age of Pericles: (1) The inner life of Greece as reflected in Athens (growth of city life, industry and trade, increase of wealth, money, Greek attitude toward business, foreigners in trade, slaves, the family, woman, education of children, the house, daily life, refined living—the temple and religious festivals, tragedy, Sophocles, Eleusinian mysteries, Panathenæa, Herodotus—Athenian life as an education, Athens a university, sources of revenue). (2) Politics of the age (Athenian land power, its rise and fall, the Persian war again, peace of Callias, Athens an empire, its organization, its weakness, wide influence of Athens.)

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following significant: Tanagra, Corcyra, Eleusis, Piræus, Halicarnassus? 2. What is meant by Cleruchi, talent, Acropolis, Dionysia, Panathenæa, Antigone? 3. What are the dates of the age of Pericles, of the Peace of Callias, of the Thirty Years' Peace?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare Athenian democracy in the time of Cleisthenes with that in the age of Pericles. 2. Compare the Law-Courts of Athens with those of your own city. 3. Compare the Athenian Empire with the Persian (§§ 83-90).

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. Life at Athens in the Age of Pericles. Zimmern, pp. 224-235; Bury, pp. 337-338; Morey, pp. 251-261. 2. The Rise and Fall of the

Athenian Land Power. Bury, pp. 352-363; Zimmern, pp. 219-224; Botsford, pp. 164-169. **3. Imperial Athens.** Bury, pp. 278-284, 363-367; Shuckburgh, pp. 213-217; Botsford, pp. 169-172. **4. The Acropolis.** Bury, pp. 367-375; Shuckburgh, pp. 201-204; Morey, pp. 232-239; Botsford, pp. 179-185. **5. Herodotus.** Capps, ch. 12; Murray, ch. 6; Jebb, pp. 103-106. **6. The Mysteries.** Bury, pp. 311-316; Ency. Brit., art. "Mysteries"; Dyer, *The Gods in Greece*, ch. 5; Diehl, *Excursions in Greece*, ch. 8. **7. Sophocles.** Morey, pp. 245-247; Capps, ch. 9; Murray, ch. 11; Jebb, pp. 83-88. **8. Pericles.** Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*.

192. Another movement of Athens in the interest of her commercial and political position in the West was the occasion of a serious rupture in the peaceful relations that had been maintained for ten years between Athens and Sparta. In 436 B.C. a quarrel arose between Corinth and Corcyra. The latter state, although it possessed a fleet of more than fifty ships, could not hope to equal the resources of Corinth in a serious conflict. Hence it sought an alliance with Athens. This proposal put the Athenians in a difficult position. Should they reject it, Corcyra would make terms with Corinth, her naval force and commercial influence in the West would be thrown against Athens and seriously endanger Athenian naval supremacy. Should they accept it, their superiority on the sea would be irresistible, their commercial position in the West strengthened, and Corinth, their only commercial rival in the Peloponnesian League, put out of the race. But, on the other hand, they would risk war with the League. It was finally decided to agree to a defensive alliance with Corcyra, whereby Athens was not required to join in an attack on the Corinthians. As might have been expected, this half-way measure roused the enmity of Corinth, whose

**The War of
Corinth
and
Corcyra.**

The Inter-
vention of
Athens.

future now depended on the weakening of Athens. Her only hope for this was in stirring up the Peloponnesian League to war. This was not difficult to do. The Spartans had long been jealous of the growing power of Athens. The years of peace had been irksome to this vigorous and warlike people. Athens, on the other hand, under the influence of Pericles, would not yield. He felt certain that war could be put off only a few years at the most and that Athens was never in a better condition to defend herself against her jealous and ambitious enemies. He was willing to arbitrate the whole matter, but not to compromise. At last, at a council of the Peloponnesian League held at Sparta in 432 B.C., it was voted that Athens had broken the peace. This was equivalent to a declaration of war. Athens accepted it as such and the conflict began in 431 B.C. With this a new period in the history of the Greek states is begun and we may pause to look back over a finished era.

Gives Occa-
sion for
War with
the Pelop-
onnesian
League.

GENERAL REVIEW OF PART II, DIVISION 2; §§ 142-192

500-431 B.C.

TOPICS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION. 1. An Outline of the Events of these Periods arranged so as to bring out the chief historical movements and forces. 2. Illustrate the progress of Athenian Democracy by the successive policies of Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles (§§ 143, 146, 155, 159, 162, 165, 171). 3. Trace the growth of the Athenian Empire from 500-431 B.C. 4. Justify the policy of Themistocles from the events that followed. 5. The various stages in the war with Persia (§§ 143, 145, 147, 154, 160, 165, 189). 6. A comparison of Æschylus with Sophocles to illustrate the difference in the periods to which they respectively belong (§§ 157, 183). 7. A List of the most important Dates in these periods.

MAP AND PICTURE EXERCISES. 1. Make an outline map of the Athenian Empire in 460 B.C., inserting all the places mentioned in the text. 2. Make a map and plan of Pylos and discuss the battle on the basis of your drawing. 3. Study the heads of Sophocles and Pericles in Plate XI and compare with those of Hammurabi and Ramses II in Plate II. Indicate the artistic and historical resemblances and differences. 4. Compare the Greek Temples in Plate XII with those in Plate IV. Observe the differences in form and arrangement. How do these differences throw light on the different characteristics of the Oriental and Greek peoples?

TOPICS FOR WRITTEN PAPERS. 1. The Privileges and Duties of an Athenian Citizen in the Age of Pericles. Fowler, *The City State*, ch. 6. 2. A Visit to the Acropolis of Athens—a description of Plate VII. See references above § 191; Diehl, *Excursions in Greece*, ch. 4. 3. Herodotus, the Man and His Book (see the references above § 191). 4. The Story of a Day in Athens in the Age of Pericles. Mahaffy, *Old Greek Life*; Grant, *Greece in the Age of Pericles*. 5. The Greek Theatre—the Building and the Play. 6. Styles of Greek Architecture. Tarbell, ch. 3. 7. The Architecture of Greek Buildings as Compared with that of Buildings in your own City. 8. The Story of Sophocles's "Antigone." Translation by Palmer.

193. The war, called the Peloponnesian War, which now ensued and with intervals of peace lasted for more than a quarter of a century (431–404 B.C.), was one of the most melancholy wars of history. In one sense it was utterly unjustifiable and unnecessary. Athens and Sparta might have gone on peacefully, each in her separate way—the one a strong land power, the other the mistress of the seas. Both had every reason to avoid a conflict which was sure to be long and costly and the outcome of which was quite uncertain. The grounds on which war was declared were not sufficient to justify the declaration. Passion and prejudice forced the decisive step. But, from another point of view, the war was unavoidable.

(4) THE
PELOPON-
NESIAN
WAR.

Unjusti-
fiable,

Yet Un-
avoidable.

Beneath all reasons on the surface of the situation, the deeper cause was the imperial ideal of Athens. In building up her Empire, Athens had come into conflict with the long-established idea that every Greek state had, as its deepest right, the right to political independence. The Spartans, in opening the war, declared that they waged it on behalf of Greek freedom against the tyrant. The majority of the states naturally sympathized with this spirit. We are to see in the Peloponnesian War, therefore, the conflict of two mighty forces—the one, the purely Greek idea of the separate and independent existence of city-states; the other, the world-ideal of empire, which had its rise in the dawn of human history (§ 91). These two forces could not long exist together; sooner or later they must grapple one with the other in a life and death struggle.

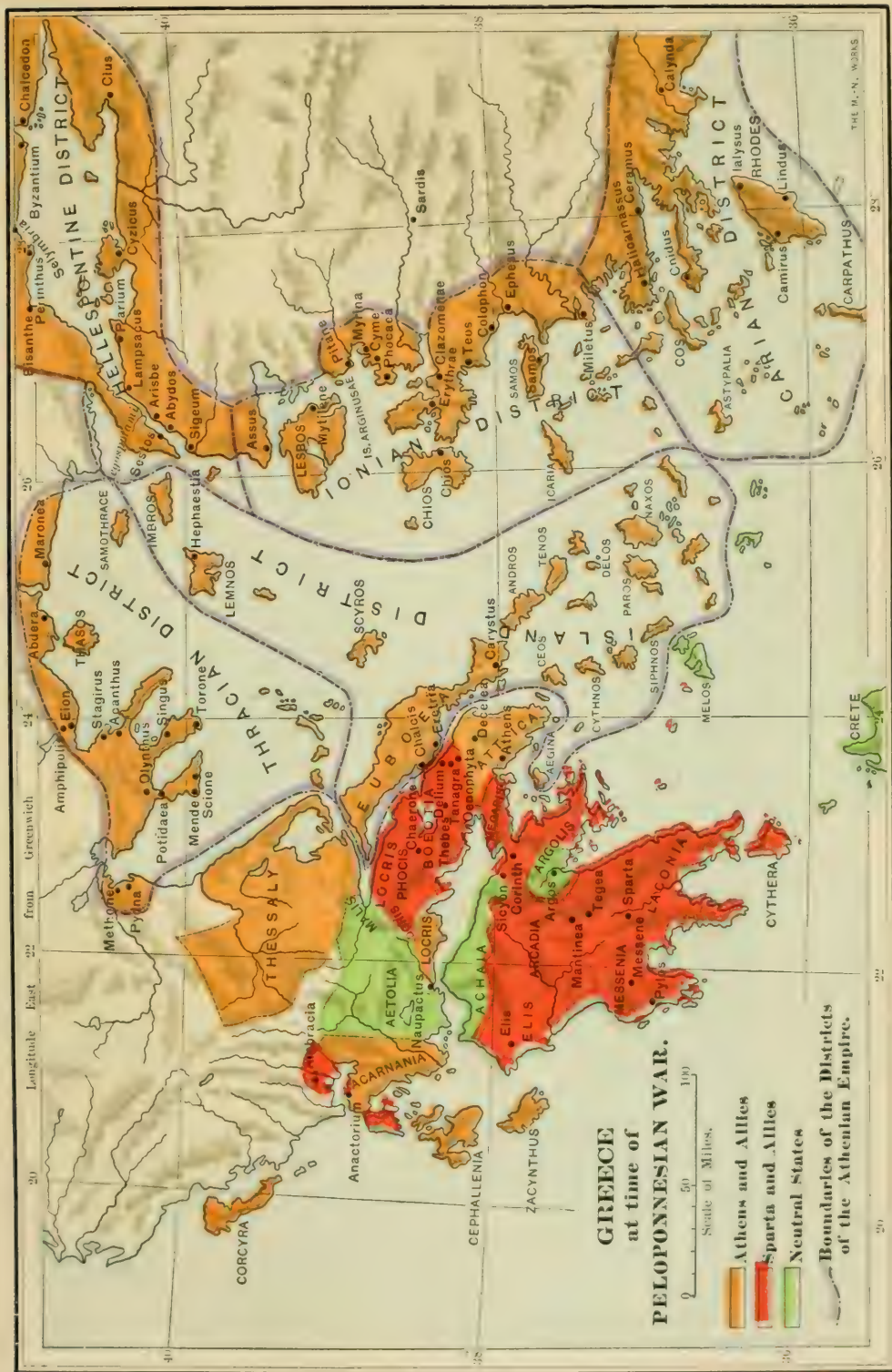
The
Struggle of
Two
Principles.

Comparison
of the Com-
batants.

The Plan
of the
Pelopon-
nesians.

The Plan
of Pericles.

194. The situation of the combatants was peculiar. Neither could be attacked in its strongest point. Athens's supremacy by sea was safe from its enemies, unless they had money to build ships and hire sailors, and money was scarce in the Peloponnesus. The Peloponnesians were strong on land, and Athens had no infantry that could stand against them. For the Peloponnesians there was but one thing to do—invade Athenian territory. But Athens itself was too strongly fortified to be taken, and it could not be starved into surrender so long as supplies could be brought in by sea. The fields could be laid waste by the invaders, but that was all. For the Athenians the plan of campaign, required by the situation and outlined by Pericles, was chiefly a defensive one. The country people, on the approach of the enemy, should leave their farms, cheerfully accept the spoiling of their goods, and dwell



in the city during the month or more of the invasion. The Peloponnesians would then be forced to return home by lack of supplies and the necessity of tilling their fields, whereupon the Attic farms could be reoccupied by their owners and the damages repaired. Resistance to the enemy by land battles would be avoided, but the Athenian fleet would sally out to strike at exposed points on the enemy's coast and to ruin the commerce of cities like Corinth and Megara. The commerce of Athens, on the contrary, would remain undisturbed by the conflict. Hence, the war would resolve itself into a question of endurance, and Pericles was confident that Athens, supported and enriched by its enlarging trade, would at last emerge triumphant. The resources of the Peloponnesians would be exhausted in striking fruitless blows, and before long they would cease the unprofitable conflict.

Its Advan-
tage.

195. This plan of Pericles was followed, in the main, during the first ten years of the war (431-421 B.C.), and these were the years of Athenian success. All Attica gathered behind the walls of Athens during the spring months of each year, when the Peloponnesians were abroad in the land. Even a fearful visitation of the plague, which carried away nearly a third of the citizens in the second and third years (430-429 B.C.), shook their resolution for but a moment. The worst blow was the death of Pericles, who fell a victim to the epidemic in 429 B.C. With the removal of his wise counsel and powerful personality it was difficult for the democracy to keep to any fixed policy. Two parties sprang up. One party, headed by Nicias, a wealthy contractor and capitalist, who in disposition was cautious, moderate, grave and pious, a fair general and a serious politician, was inclined to bring

The First
Period of
the War.

Plague at
Athens.

Death of
Pericles.

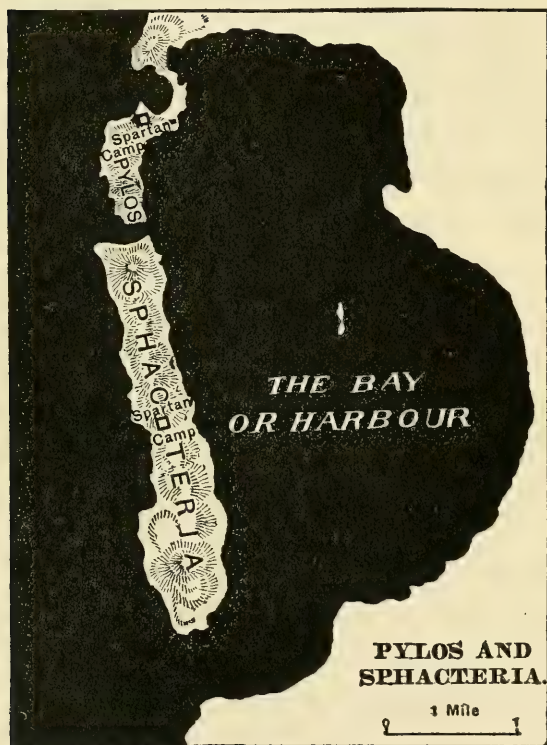
The Parties

Nicias.

Cleon.

the war to a close as soon as it could be done without dishonor to the state. The other party was led by Cleon, a rich manufacturer. He was in favor of prosecuting the war much more vigorously than the defensive policy of Pericles would have permitted. By his persuasive speech he obtained the leadership of the radical democrats. The mass of the citizens inclined first to one side and then to the other, with the result that Athens now embarked in rash and sometimes unfortunate enterprises, now did little more than stand on the defensive.

196. The high-water mark of Athenian success in the ten years' war was reached in 425 B.C. In the spring of

The Pylos
Affair.

that year a fleet was sent out to the west. On their way the ships put in at the bay of Pylos, on the west of the Peloponnese in Messenia. Here Demosthenes, Athens's most brilliant general, was landed with a small force and fortified the promontory of Pylos. On hearing of this the Peloponnesian army, already in

Attica engaged in its yearly devastation of the land, hastily returned. A Spartan force, supported by a fleet, at-

tacked the Athenians, who defended themselves valiantly. A body of Spartan hoplites took possession of the long narrow island of Sphacteria, which, from the point of Pylos, stretched away toward the south and formed the outer side of the harbor. Suddenly the Athenian fleet reappeared, and drove the Spartan fleet upon the shore, thus cutting off the four hundred and twenty Spartan hoplites on the island from their fellows on the mainland. These men made up no small part of the citizen body of Sparta, and the Spartan authorities made every effort to save them, even sending ambassadors to Athens to ask terms of peace. Thus the Athenians had the opportunity to end the war with a brilliant triumph, but under the persuasions of Cleon the ambassadors were denied a fair hearing, and the war went on. On the promise of Cleon that he would bring the Spartan hoplites prisoners to Athens in twenty days, he was given troops and sent as general to Pylos. He was himself no skilful soldier, but he took with him reinforcements with which Demosthenes was able to force the Spartans to surrender within the specified time. This success lifted Cleon into the highest favor with the people, and his policy of bold, aggressive warfare was approved. It was a fatal step. The favorable moment for making peace had been allowed to slip and was never to present itself again.

Cleon's
Rash
Policy.

197. The Peloponnesians had done little more, year by year, than make invasions into Attica or ward off as best they might the advances of Athens upon the mainland. But hardly a year after the affair of Pylos, they scored a success which largely made up for that disaster. This they owed to the Spartan general Brasidas, the ablest officer that had yet appeared on their side. Without a

Brasidas
and His
Plan.

fleet the Peloponnesians could make an attack on the Athenian Empire outside of Attica at only one point. The genius of Brasidas perceived and struck at that one point—the Athenian possessions in Macedonia and Thrace. Hurrying north with a small force, he appeared before the city of Acanthus, and, with the plea that he had come to secure freedom from the Athenian tyrant, he induced the city to rebel. The Athenians were taken unprepared, and before they could collect themselves the important city of Amphipolis had fallen. In 422 B.C. Cleon sailed to the north to recover these cities. In a skirmish at the gates of Amphipolis, both he and Brasidas were slain.

Death of
Cleon and
Brasidas.

Peace.

Result of
the Ten
Years.

Athens in
the As-
cendant.

198. With Cleon out of the way, there was opportunity at Athens for the lovers of peace to carry through their programme. Accordingly, in 421 B.C., a treaty was signed for a fifty years' peace between Sparta and Athens. The war had closed with the advantage entirely on the side of Athens. The fundamental article of the treaty was that both powers should give back what they had conquered from each other during the war. This meant for the Spartans the loss of the cities in the north and for the Athenians the setting free of the Spartans taken at Pylos. But the Athenian Empire remained practically undiminished, and Corinth's sea power and commerce had been shattered, while Athens had enlarged and strengthened her possessions. On the other hand, the purpose of the Peloponnesian League to destroy the Athenian Empire had utterly failed and the members of the League were themselves at odds one with another. Athens was mistress of the situation.

199. We must pause here to note some changes in Athenian life, which had their root in the time of Pericles,

but bore fruit during the years of war. We have seen (§§ 167-171) how democracy under Pericles was perfected. The people ruled directly, and politics became the passion of the citizens. To guide the people successfully one must persuade them in public assembly; he who would win them to his way of thinking and acting must be able to argue better than his opponents. To be a good orator was indispensable for a politician. To meet this demand teachers sprang up who professed, among other things, to make one skilful in the art of persuasion. These were the Rhetoricians and the Sophists. They were immensely popular at Athens. Men learned from them how to present arguments and to weigh them, to put ideas in a taking way in public speech, and to reply to opponents successfully. It was not so important that the cause urged was good or bad, or that the arguments presented in favor of it were right or wrong—they must be such that the people, hearing them, would think them sound and vote accordingly. As this skill grew, the people grew more critical also. The public assembly became a school of debate, where sharp-witted politicians contended before a keen and excited audience. Fine points were applauded and dulness hissed. But the result of this was to put truth and justice below shrewdness in debate, to make adroitness and popular oratorical skill more important than character and honor in a political leader. The Athenians fell into this fatal error.

Changes in
Athenian
Temper and
Spirit.

Rise of
Rhetoricians and
Sophists.

The De-
bating
Fever and
its Effect.

200. This condition of things is illustrated in the Comedy of the times. Comedy, like Tragedy (§ 138), arose in connection with the religious festivals and dealt familiarly with the scenes and events of common life. In Athens, where the main interest was politics, it found its con-

Comedy as
an Illustration
of the
Times.

Aristoph-
anes.

genial subjects in the political leaders, who were held up to unmeasured ridicule amidst the unrestrained laughter of the audience. The greatest comic poet of the day was Aristophanes (about 450-385 B.C.). In his *Knights* he satirizes the Demos as an ill-natured old man, who is the prey of his villainous slave, the leather-worker (meaning Cleon, who was a tanner). The *Clouds* jests at the new learning of the time. The *Wasps* makes fun of the Athenian law-courts by a mock trial in which justice is parodied. The *Birds* pictures a bird-city "Cloudcoco-kootown" where the bustle and excitement of Athens are kept out. The *Frogs* describes the adventures of Dionysus, who goes to Hades (the underworld) to find a poet, and is in doubt whether to bring back Æschylus or the favorite dramatist of the time, Euripides. He finally decides for the former. All these and the other comedies of Aristophanes are, in spite of their coarseness and personal abuse, works of permanent power because of their rollicking humor and vigor, interspersed with passages of wonderful lyric beauty. The strange thing is that the Athenians were willing to listen to such satires on their life and such caricatures of their statesmen, to laugh at their leaders one day and follow them the next.

Effect of
Culture on
Morals and
Religion.

201. The culture of Athens, fed by architecture, painting and sculpture, by the spectacles of the tragic and comic stage, and stimulated by the stirring political activity, could not fail to have its influence on religion and morals. It is true that most men were too busy about politics to trouble themselves as to whether their notions about the gods would stand the test. But a few could not avoid questioning. Pericles gathered about him men like the philosopher Anaxagoras, who, following after

Philosophy
Unsettles
Men's
Minds

the earlier thinkers (§ 122), thought of the world as formed not from a single source, but from several original elements, one of which is "mind," that puts all things together. He regarded the sun and moon as great balls of stone. The speed of the sun had turned it into a glowing mass. Another philosopher, Heraclitus, did not believe that there was anything permanent in the world. "All things flow," he said, or "all things are burning." The only reality is the fact of change. Such ideas overturned the old faith. Those who held them tried to find solid ground to stand on than was supplied by the religion of the day and to clear men's minds from its superstitions. Pericles sympathized with this aim, but he did not carry the citizens along with him. The old religion was sacred to them and they feared and hated the philosophers who attacked it. Anaxagoras was banished from Athens in 434 B.C. for his "impiety." In fact, these ideas did not make men better, because they shattered faith in religion, on which people depended, and put nothing in its place. Nor did the prevailing interest in politics help; it rather harmed. Men grew hard and grasping in their ambitions; their love of country made them selfish in her defence and for her glory. Someone has called attention to three dark spots upon this enlightened Athenian society: (1) The putting of slaves to torture before taking their testimony in a court of law; (2) the ruthless slaughter of prisoners taken in war, and the selling of captive women and children into slavery; (3) the want of respect for old age. We have already observed the position of woman (§ 179). In all this we must not judge too harshly, but rather remember that people do not go forward in all things at one time. In Athens the new learning was break-

And Irritates Them.

Dark Side of Athenian Character.

ing down the old customs before building up new ones. While the childish things of the old religion and morals were being put away, more reasonable ideas were slow in gaining ground.

Character-
istic
Figures.
Thucyd-
ides.

202. Four great men of this period illustrate the spiritual temper of Athens in its lighter and darker sides.

Compared
with
Herodotus.

203. Thucydides* (about 471-398 B.C.) was the Athenian general who, failing to keep Brasidas out of Amphipolis (§ 197), was banished from Athens and was in exile for twenty years. He improved this time in gathering materials for and writing a *History of the Peloponnesian War*. He wrote during the latter years of Herodotus (§ 185), but a whole world separates their Histories from one another. Herodotus describes; Thucydides gives the inner meaning. Herodotus tells a story because of his interest in it; Thucydides tells nothing but what he knows to be true. Herodotus enjoys his work and wants others to be entertained also; Thucydides writes for the instruction of men who take things seriously. In other words, Thucydides has no sentiment, imagination, or humor; he is intensely keen and hard. He reveals what is base and selfish, true and heroic in his characters in a masterly fashion, but without praise or blame. Everything he handles is treated from the purely political point of view. You learn nothing directly of the religious, economic, or social life of his day. His style is strong, concise, sometimes obscure, often eloquent. The *History* reaches its height in the account of the expedition to Syracuse in the seventh Book.

A Scientific
Historian.

Euripides.

204. Euripides (about 480-406 B.C.) was the supreme tragic poet of the war-time. He had thought deeply upon

* Not the same as the son of Melesias (§ 190).

all the problems raised by the new learning and used his wonderful imaginative power in presenting them through his tragedies. He was the poet of democracy, but of a glorified democracy which had a deep feeling for woman and the slave. Woman's heroism and devotion form the kernel of his *Iphigenia*, and *Alcestis*. The tragedy of common life is seen in the *Electra*. He introduces the slave and the beggar to show that they, too, have hearts that can bleed. Toward the popular religion he stands in an attitude partly of abhorrence and partly of sympathy. His *Bacchæ* is a powerful picture of the madness and sublimity of the worship of Dionysus (§ 124). Men were at once charmed by the magic and pathos of his poetry and repelled by the boldness and novelty of his thoughts. In all this he reveals himself as a son of his time—of the restless, passionate, practical, sensitive, brutal Athens of the war.

205. One of the most picturesque personalities of the time was Socrates (about 469–399 B.C.). Of a burly, ungainly figure, with bulging eyes, flat nose and thick lips, he could be seen at all times on the streets, as he gathered about him a delighted group whom he engaged in conversation, drawing them on by simple questions to consider the deepest problems of life. He had taken the step which all Athens needed to take—from the enjoyment of material prosperity and the passion for politics to the search for right living. Athens had learned the goodness of greatness; he would teach her the greatness of goodness. He found true knowledge in the study of his own heart and the testing of his own ideals. The old motto, "Know thyself," was the text of all his preaching. In this work he felt himself commissioned from above; a divine spirit goaded him on and inspired him. By his

Socrates

A Moral
Philoso-
pher.

sharp and searching talk he irritated the self-satisfied democracy, whose leaders hated to be made fools of by him. With unshrinking courage, he persisted in his thankless task and spared none of the notions held dear by Athens. "Politicians," he cried, "all flatterers, cooks, confectioners, tavern-keepers, whom have they made better? They have filled the city with harbors, docks, walls, tributes and such trash, instead of with temperance and righteousness." For his own time he was a prophet crying in the wilderness; one excitement the more for sensation-loving Athens. But his work, although undertaken too late for the salvation of his own generation, was destined to abide for all time.

Alcibiades.

Unites the
New Learning
with
Politics.

206. Among those who gathered about Socrates, professing discipleship, was the most brilliant young Athenian of the time, Alcibiades. All the vices and virtues of the Athens of the war were summed up in him; he is the exemplar at once of her glory and her shame. With him we pass from the spiritual forces of the time to one of its most potent political leaders, and, therefore, take up again the thread of the history. A relative of Pericles, a true aristocrat, wealthy and handsome, Alcibiades was the hope of the friends of that great statesman and the true heir of his ideas. He took up the interests of the people, posing as a radical of the radicals. His education was the best the age could offer, and he shared in all the advanced opinions of his day. He was the idol of the people, yet respected nobody but himself; the teaching of Socrates accomplished little for him beyond confirming him in his egotism without leading him on to self-improvement. On the death of Cleon (§ 197) he sprang into the vacant place as leader of the radical democracy.



THE LAOCOON GROUP

207. The long-desired peace with the Peloponnesian League (§ 198) was followed by a union between Sparta and Athens, from which the allies of Sparta were excluded, because they refused to accept the peace. Apart from the two powerful states now at one, they could do nothing. Hence, a long period of rest and recovery from the waste and turmoil of war seemed at hand. But the prospect was not realized; the fifty years' peace was dead from its birth. Formally, it endured for six years, years in which there was constant turmoil and fighting somewhere in Greece. The causes of this were threefold: (1) In 451 B.C. Sparta and Argos had concluded a thirty years' peace, which now was just at an end. Argos, left alone during these years, had grown strong and was ready to enter the political field. The other Peloponnesian states, abandoned by Sparta, entered into a league with the new power and prepared to turn against their old leader. (2) The Spartans failed to carry out the terms of the peace, as they did not give back to Athens the captured cities. This caused dissatisfaction at Athens. (3) The strife of parties at Athens was intensified by Alcibiades, who, as leader of the war party, sought to destroy the good understanding between Sparta and Athens established by the peace party. Alcibiades hoped, by renewing the war with Sparta, to place himself at the head of affairs, bring victory to Athens and glory to himself. He induced the Athenians to ally themselves with the Argive League. Finally, Sparta came to a battle with the League at Mantinea, and defeated them (418 B.C.); the league was forthwith broken up. Yet, even now, Athens and Sparta did not begin to fight. Each was at heart not unwilling to keep the peace. Each was ready for a convenient opportunity for war.

The Years
of the False
Peace.

Causes of
Trouble.

Mantinea.

The
Athenian
Expedition
against
Syracuse.

208. The opportunity was offered by Athens. Her commercial activity in the West had long been hindered by the rivalry of Syracuse. Just at this time the rapid extension of her power induced some neighboring cities of Sicily to call on Athens for help. Alcibiades persuaded the people to send against Syracuse an expedition, which set sail in 415 B.C. It was the finest fleet Athens ever put upon the sea and taxed her resources heavily. It consisted of 134 triremes, 20,000 seamen, and an army of 6,430 soldiers. The command was not intrusted to Alcibiades alone, but was divided between himself, Nicias and Lamachus. One morning just before the fleet sailed, the Athenians were startled to find that the sacred images, called Hermæ, which stood along the streets of the city, had been wantonly disfigured. The attempt was made to fasten the guilt for this outrage, and other similar sins against religion, upon Alcibiades and his friends, but a decision on the matter was postponed till he returned. However, he had hardly reached Sicily when he was ordered to come to Athens to stand trial. Fearing for his life, he escaped, and after a short time found a refuge at Sparta, where he sought every means to bring ruin upon his native city.

Condemna-
tion and
Flight of
Alcibiades.

Renewal of
the War.

209. At last, in 414 B.C., under the impulse of the war spirit, the Athenians took the bold step of making a descent upon Spartan soil. This decided the Spartans for war. They sent a small force to the aid of Syracuse under a valiant and able general named Gylippus and prepared again to invade Attica.

210. Meanwhile the expedition against Syracuse was faring badly. Lamachus was dead and Nicias was left in sole command. He sent back to Athens for reinforce-

ments. In spite of some unpleasant surprise at this news, Athens could not draw back, and her most brilliant general, Demosthenes, was sent out with 73 ships and an army of 20,000 men gathered from all parts of the Athenian Empire. But his help was in vain. The honest but incompetent Nicias had lost his opportunity to capture the city and attempted a siege. The Syracusans gathered courage and strength with the coming of Gylippus. After a vain attempt to storm their works, Demosthenes urged a retreat, but Nicias delayed until it was too late. At the last the Athenian army was scattered, the two generals captured and put to death, the soldiers thrown into the stone-quarries, where many perished of hunger; the survivors were sold as slaves (413 B.C.).

The Disaster at Syracuse.

211. The Syracusan expedition was the crisis of Athens. With its failure the Athenian Empire was doomed. The astonishing thing—and it exhibits the spirit and resources of the city most clearly—is that Athens fought the Peloponnesians ten years longer before she fell.

Its Vital Significance.

212. The Spartans, on the advice of Alcibiades, had occupied a permanent stronghold in Attica at Decelea, fifteen miles north of Athens, at the head of the valley of the Cephissus. Thereby the city was in a permanent state of siege; the income from the country was cut off; the slaves escaped to the enemy in great numbers, and all work suffered correspondingly. Nevertheless, Athens was still mistress of the sea, and the war was likely to run the same course as before, except that, in the weakened condition of both parties, the same indecisive result might be expected to arrive much sooner.

Spartans at Decelea.

213. What made the difference and ended the war with the complete overthrow of Athens was that Persia took a

Appearance
of Persia
on the
Scene.

hand in it. Artaxerxes I., the maker and lover of peace, was dead, and his son Darius II. was on the throne (424–405 B.C.). His satraps, Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, were directed to recover the Great King's possessions on the coast of Asia Minor. Persia had what the Greeks lacked—money. With money the Peloponnesians could build, equip and maintain a fleet, and meet Athens on the sea. This meant for Athens the cutting off of her commerce, the diminishing of her resources, the revolt of her allies and, without Persian money, the downfall of her Empire. Thus it came about that Persia in the last years of the very century the beginning of which had seen her repulse and defeat, decided the fate of her victor.

What it
Meant.

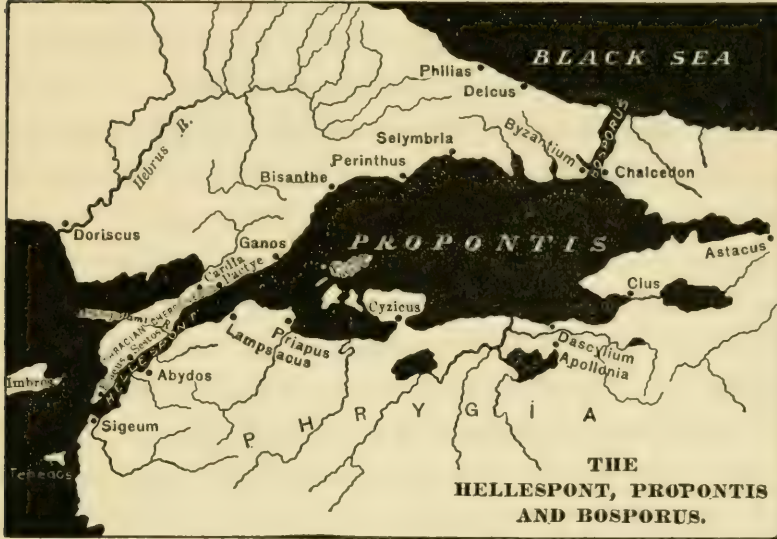
Two Peri-
ods of
Persian
Activity.

214. There were two periods of Persian interference in the war. First, the satraps, while inclining to Sparta and setting her up on the sea, also gave sufficient help to Athens to enable her to continue the struggle. The design was to weaken both sides until Persia could step in and overpower both. This period closed in 408 B.C., when Cyrus, the king's younger son, superseded Tissaphernes in command of the Asia Minor provinces and took definitely the side of Sparta. That stand speedily brought about the fall of Athens. After all, therefore, it was Persia, and not Sparta, that destroyed the Athenian Empire.

A New Sit-
uation—
Naval Bat-
tles.

215. Another new feature of this period of the war was that the battles were now fought on the sea. Peloponnesian fleets, sustained by Persian money, appeared in the Ægean. The vital points of attack were (1) the cities of the Ionian coast and the islands, where were the strongest subject cities of the Athenians, and (2) the regions of the Hellespont, the control of which would cut Athens

off from her chief food supply. The appearance of the Peloponnesians was the signal for revolt from Athens. Chios and Rhodes were lost. The entire Ionian coast passed over into Persian hands. Samos, alone of all the great cities, remained faithful. The fiercest struggle



was waged in the north. Success leaned now this way, now that. The Athenians won the battle of Cyzicus (410 B.C.) and lost that of Notium (407 B.C.). With a great effort, they gathered another fleet and won the brilliant victory of Arginusæ (406 B.C.), but their last fleet was annihilated at Ægospotami (405 B.C.), and the Hellespont was lost. This was followed by the surrender of Athens (404 B.C.), the entrance of the Peloponnesians and the pulling down of the long walls—a day of triumph for Sparta, heralded as “the beginning of freedom for Greece.”

The Deci-
sive Stroke.

Fall of
Athens.

216. The two chief actors during these years were the

Career of
Alcibiades.

Athenian Alcibiades and Lysander the Spartan. Alcibiades went from Sparta (§ 208) to the Ionian coast, where he became the confidant of Tissaphernes. But the desperate situation of the Athenians seemed to him to afford an opportunity to help them as well as glorify himself, and we find him, by 411 B.C., back on the Athenian side. But even his brilliant genius could not save Athens. Shortly after the war was over, he was murdered by the Persians among whom he had taken refuge. Lysander was the Spartan Alcibiades, a brilliant, cruel, selfish politician and general. His purpose was the same as that of his Athenian contemporary, to help his state with the idea of making himself the first man in it. As the friend of Cyrus, he wielded Persian influence in behalf of Sparta and won the final victory which brought Athens low. At the close of the war, he was the greatest man in Greece, and all his ambitions seemed about to be fulfilled.

Lysander,
the Spartan
Leader.

Athens
during this
Period of
the War.

217. Nothing in history is more amazing and heart-rending than the spectacle of Athens during these ten years. It is amazing to see the democracy struggling on with stern determination against an inevitable fate, spending their last resources to equip a fleet, and on its destruction making yet another desperate effort to face their foes, and yielding only when the treasury was empty, the citizen body reduced to a fraction of its numbers, the subject cities lost, the food supply cut off, the people perishing from famine. The pitiful side of the situation was the breaking out of political conflicts among the citizens. Patriotism had degenerated into selfish politics, in which unprincipled leaders intrigued for place and power. In 411 B.C. an attempt to substitute for the democracy the rule of four hundred leading citizens succeeded for a time.

Faction.

Secret political clubs flourished, their weapons slander and murder, their purpose the overthrow of the constitution. No one could be trusted in the affairs of state. Self-interest was the rule of public conduct.

218. In this decay of political integrity and patriotism we find the fundamental cause of the fall of Athens. There were, indeed, serious defects in the Athenian constitution, the chief of which was the inequality of the burdens borne by citizens. The rich were called on for large contributions for the support of the state (§ 187), while the poor, having equal rights, were paid for their service. The attitude of Athens toward her subject cities was also a fundamental weakness in her foreign policy (§ 164), so that in her dire extremity they deserted her. But none of these things, not Athenian democratic institutions, nor the superiority of Sparta, nor the money of Persia, brought her low. The want of uprightness and honesty in her leaders; the preferring of cleverness to character; the placing of self and party above country and duty—this was the dry-rot at the heart of Athens that finally brought the imperial structure to ruin. Far more instructive than any lessons from the Eastern Empires are the magnificent achievement and the pitiful collapse of the Athenian Empire.

Moral
Causes of
Athenian
Ruin.

Its Lesson.

219. The terms on which Sparta received the submission of Athens were these: the fortifications of the Piræus and the long walls were to be pulled down; all the ships but twelve were to be given up; all exiles were to return; the supremacy of Sparta was to be acknowledged; the friends and foes of the Spartans were to be Athens's friends and foes, and war contributions of money and men were to be made when Sparta demanded them.

Terms of
Athens's
Surrender.

The
Spartan
Pro-
gramme.

These conditions reveal the Spartan programme, (1) to secure for all Greek cities freedom from outside interference—for this purpose Athens was made powerless, (2) to establish Sparta's headship over all these cities in the spirit of the old Peloponnesian League (§ 132).

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion.
2. THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT EMPIRE.

(a) The Persian Wars. (b) The Rise of the Athenian Empire.
(c) The Age of Pericles. (d) The Peloponnesian War—its occasion, Corinth, Corcyra and Athens—unjustifiable yet unavoidable—combatants and their plans compared—First period (plague, death of Pericles, the new leaders, the Pylos affair, Brasidas and the north, death of Brasidas and Cleon, peace, outcome)—Second period—Athenian temper and spirit (sophists, popular debates, comedy, unsettling of morals and religion, change of character, Thucydides, Euripides, Socrates, Alcibiades)—political events of the peace period (Argos, Mantinea, Syracusan expedition)—Third period (the Spartan plan, appearance of Persia, significance, two periods, naval battles, fall of Athens, Lysander and Alcibiades, cause of Athenian ruin, terms of surrender).

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following famous: Nicias, Demosthenes, Brasidas, Gylippus, Thucydides, Socrates, Euripides, Cyrus the Younger, Lamachus? 2. What events are connected with the following: Amphipolis, Mantinea, Declea, Ægospotami? 3. What is meant by Sophist, Hermæ, Demos, "all things flow"? 4. What are the dates of the three periods of the war? of Pylos, Syracusan Expedition, Ægospotami?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare Themistocles (§§ 145, 162, 166) and Alcibiades as political leaders. 2. Compare the Athenian method of declaring war, making peace and appointing generals with our own.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Peloponnesian War: Preliminaries and First Period. Bury, ch. 10; Zimmern, ch. 15; Shuckburgh, pp. 217-235; Botsford, pp. 190-205. 2. The Second Period: the Sicilian Expedition, Bury, pp. 458-484; Zimmern, pp. 270-282; Shuckburgh, pp. 238-248; Botsford, pp. 208-216. 3. The Third Period. Bury, pp. 484-506; Zimmern, ch. 17; Botsford, pp. 227-238; Shuckburgh, pp. 248-259. 4. The New Thought at Athens. Botsford, pp. 217-227. 5. The Sophists. Bury, pp. 385-389. 6. Aristophanes. Jebb, pp. 96-100; Capps, ch. 11; Murray, pp. 280-293. 7. Thucydides. Jebb, pp. 106-109; Capps, pp. 317-330; Murray, ch. 8. 8. Euripides. Jebb, pp. 88-94; Capps, ch. 10; Murray, ch. 12. 9. Socrates. Jebb, p. 125; Shuckburgh, pp. 264-266; Murray, pp. 170-177; Morey, pp. 290-291; Bury, pp. 576-581.

220. Sparta's headship naturally carried with it the reappearance everywhere of that class of citizens and of that form of government with which Sparta was in sympathy. The aristocracy took charge of affairs, destroyed democracy and established oligarchies in the place of the democratic governments that characterized Athenian rule. The usual form of these oligarchies was the decarchy, or the rule of ten aristocratic citizens. A peculiar form was that at Athens, where thirty men reorganized the government.

(5) OTHER
IMPERIAL
AT-
TEMPTS.

Renewal of
Oligarchy.

221. But it was impossible to combine the two parts of the Spartan programme (§ 219). The events of the last fifty years made it difficult to force the Demos back into obscurity, and Sparta's aristocratic friends were compelled to depend on Spartan help to sustain them in office. Moreover, Sparta had been infected by Athens with the imperial fever; her great general, Lysander, openly worked to secure Spartan supremacy. Thus, in many cities the decarchy had by its side a Spartan harmost, or overseer, at the head of a body of troops, who represented the real

Failure of
the Pro-
gramme.

power of the state. Supported by this military authority, the aristocrats took bloody revenge everywhere for the wrongs of years, killing the democratic leaders and seizing their property, while the Spartan commander looked calmly on or aided the avengers. At Athens a regular reign of terror was carried on by the "Thirty" with the support of a Spartan garrison on the Acropolis. At last, those whom they had driven out seized the Piræus and overthrew the tyrants. Even then another oligarchy would have been set up, had not Pausanias, the Spartan king, who was hostile to Lysander, secured for the Athenians freedom to reorganize their government as a somewhat conservative democracy. Elsewhere Lysander set up decarchies and planted Spartan garrisons, sailing up and down the Ægean sea, levying tribute and practically subjugating, instead of freeing, the cities. Thus the Greek world found that the victory over Athens resulted only in the setting up of a heartless and narrow-minded power, whose aim was a supremacy more thorough and selfish than ever. This could not fail to be clearly seen, when it became known that the condition on which Persia had taken Sparta's side was that Sparta should hand the Greek cities on the Asia Minor coast over to Persia. Not only the Spartans then—the Spartans and the Persians were lords of the Greek states.

The Thirty
at Athens.

Lysander's
Imperial
Policy.

Affairs in
Sicily.

The Car-
thaginian
Problem.

222. In sympathy with Sparta was yet another power in the Greek world. Even since the successful defence of Syracuse against the Athenians the Greek cities of Sicily had been living in peace, with increasing wealth and prosperity, under democratic constitutions. But Carthage, the Phœnician metropolis of north Africa, who had kept her hands from Sicily since the defeat of Himera (§ 154),

took advantage of a local quarrel to invade Sicily in 409 B.C. In the struggles which followed, it seemed as if all Greek Sicily would fall under the Carthaginian supremacy. Deliverance was wrought by a citizen of Syracuse, of humble origin, but of remarkable political and military gifts, Dionysius. He made himself tyrant of Syracuse, and in a series of wars with the Carthaginians forced them back and confined their possessions to the western end of the island. During his long reign (405–367 B.C.), Syracuse became the greatest city of the Greek world. Dionysius fortified it strongly, adorned it magnificently and made it the centre of an Empire which embraced the greater part of Greek Italy, as well as islands and colonies in the upper Adriatic sea. His help was sought and obtained by the Spartans. He was desirous of entering into close relations with the eastern Greeks, who both admired and feared him as a powerful, but dangerous tyrant. His nature was cold and hard; he did little for higher culture, although he wrote tragedies and thought himself most fortunate to have won the first prize at Athens in a tragic competition. His merit was primarily political—to have saved the Greeks of the west from destruction. His Empire lasted only a few years after his death.

The Empire of
Dionysius.

223. The half-century that followed the close of the Peloponnesian War (404–355 B.C.) is occupied with the history of the attempts of the leading Greek states, one after the other, to rule over the Greek world. In each of these states were ambitious men whose ideals were, like those of Alcibiades at Athens (§ 206), centred on the supremacy of their own cities under their personal headship. Such a man was Lysander of Sparta, who wanted to make Sparta the ruler of Greece and himself the ruler of Sparta.

Growth of
Greek Imperialism.

Lysander
and
Agesilaus.

The first of these aims he was accomplishing by forcing Spartan harmosts and garrisons upon the cities. The other he hoped to gain by making the new Spartan king, Agesilaus (399 B.C.), a man small, lame and apparently without force, subservient to himself.

The Con-
flict at
Sparta.

224. But already symptoms of discontent with Lysander's selfish and unpatriotic policy had shown themselves at Sparta. The liberation of Athens from the tyrants by Pausanias (§ 221) is an illustration. Especially the abandonment of the Asia Minor cities to Persia was felt to be unworthy, and their deliverance was loudly called for. The decisive step was forced by an unexpected event. The death of Darius II of Persia in 405 B.C. brought his eldest son, Artaxerxes II, to the throne. But Cyrus, the younger son, whose union with Sparta had brought Athens low (§ 214), gathered an army of some 10,000 Greek mercenaries and 100,000 Asiatics and started from Asia Minor to contest the throne (402 B.C.). The king met the invaders in Babylonia at Cunaxa (401 B.C.), where the Greeks carried all before them, but Cyrus himself was killed. With his death the rebellion collapsed, the Asiatics deserted to the king, and the Greeks were left alone in the heart of the Empire. But, though deceived and harassed by the Persians, and their generals treacherously slain, they forced their way back to the west through the northern mountains and reached the Black sea. They had challenged the Great King at his very gates and he had been unable to punish them.

The Anab-
asis of
Cyrus.

225. Among the Greeks who accompanied Cyrus was a young Athenian, Xenophon, a friend of one of the Greek generals. It was he who encouraged the Greeks after the loss of their generals and inspired them to defy the king and attempt the return march.

He has written an account of the expedition in his *Anabasis*, one of the most attractive books in Greek literature.

226. When Cyrus planned his rebellion, he sought and obtained the aid of Sparta. The failure of his attempt brought down Persian wrath upon her. She was thus driven to break with Persia and strike a blow for the freedom of the Asia Minor cities. War began in 400 B.C. In 396 B.C. Agesilaus, with a strong army, started for Asia Minor, accompanied by Lysander, who expected to control the expedition. But Agesilaus, though insignificant in body, was vigorous in purpose and ambition; he soon showed himself the real, as well as the nominal, master, and Lysander's supremacy was past.

Its Effect,
War be-
tween
Sparta and
Persia.

Agesilaus
in Asia
Minor.

227. The war with Persia ran on feebly for ten years (396-387 B.C.). Worthy as was Sparta's motive in waging it, she could not escape the consequences of her arbitrary treatment of Greek states at home. Corinth and Thebes, who had suffered from her tyranny, joined with Athens; all threw themselves on the side of Persia. The conflict on the sea was carried on by a Persian fleet under the leadership of Conon, the Athenian admiral. Agesilaus was called back from the east and won a decisive victory over the Thebans at Coroneia in 394 B.C., but the same year the Spartan fleet was destroyed at Cnidos. The Ionian cities fell into the hands of Persia. The Persian fleet sailed over to Greece, where Conon rebuilt the long walls of Athens, and thus the opportunity was given her to become again an independent sea power. Sparta gave up the contest and sought peace from Persia on terms most advantageous to herself. The Great King dictated the conditions to her ambassador Antalcidas, and by 387 B.C. the King's Peace was established throughout the Greek world.

Sparta's
Difficulties
in Greece.

Coroneia
and
Cnidos.

The Peace
of Antal-
cidas.

The royal decree which gave the terms of peace read as follows: "King Artaxerxes thinks it right that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus shall belong to him; further that all the other Greek cities, small and great, shall be independent, except Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros, which shall belong to Athens as formerly. If any refuse to accept this peace, I shall make war on them, along with those who have the same mind, both by land and sea, with both ships and money."

A Virtual
Victory for
Sparta.

228. To Sparta, as head of Greece, was given the task of maintaining the peace as the king's deputy. The result was practically to restore Spartan supremacy. For whatever cities had organized leagues or subjected other cities would be forced by Sparta to give independence to those under them, while Sparta herself had a free hand in establishing her own power everywhere. The Asia Minor cities were, however, definitely handed over to Persia.

The Cen-
tralizing
Tendency

229. It remained to be seen whether Sparta's diplomatic triumph could be maintained in the face of the tendency to unite states, which was steadily making headway in the Greek world against the old-time principle of independence (§ 193). Everywhere leagues were forming; new and larger states were rising; tyrants were appearing and gaining wider power. By the peace of Antalcidas Sparta was empowered to check these movements in her own interest. The real problem was whether she was strong enough to stop them and make herself mistress of Greece. She bestirred herself with energy. The opposition in the Peloponnesus was put down. A league of the Chalcidian cities under the leadership of Olynthus was broken up (382-379 B.C.). A check was put on the Boeotian league by throwing a Spartan garrison into the Cadmeia, the citadel of Thebes (382 B.C.)—a manifest breach of the King's Peace. An attempt was made to seize the Piræus,

Checked
by
Sparta.

The
Cadmeia
Affair.

which the Athenians had not yet fully fortified (378 B.C.), but without success.

230. But such high-handed measures provoked intense opposition. A conspiracy at Thebes, aided by the Athenians, succeeded in driving out the Spartan garrison and uniting Bœotia against Sparta (379 B.C.). Athens also declared war and swept the Spartans from the sea. When, in 371 B.C., the Spartan army under King Cleombrotus entered Bœotia, the Bœotians met them at Leuctra and inflicted upon them a smashing defeat. The king himself was slain and a thousand Lacedemonians with him. The prestige of the Spartan soldiery was destroyed. All Greece was astounded. The pious Xenophon wrote of it as follows: "The Lacedemonians, who swore to leave the cities independent, seized the citadel of Thebes, and they were punished by the very men, single-handed, whom they had wronged, though never before had they been vanquished by any single people. It is a proof that the gods observe men who do irreligious and unhallowed deeds."

Revolt at
Thebes.

Leuctra
and its
Lesson.

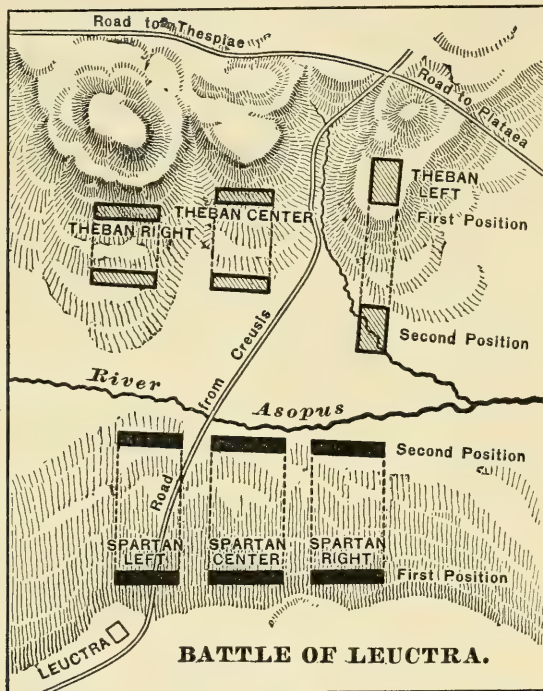
231. The victory of Thebes was the result, not of a sudden outburst of irresistible wrath at Spartan oppression, but of long military training and a new system of military tactics devised and carried through by leaders of genius and enthusiasm. Two great men had been created by the Theban situation—Pelopidas and Epaminondas. The former was the leader in the band of conspirators that drove the Spartans out of Thebes, an intense fiery nature, of genial and bold temper; he gathered the Theban youth into the "Sacred Band," one hundred and fifty pairs of friends, skilled in war, bound by the holiest of ties to fight side by side to the death. Epaminondas balanced the passionate enthusiasm of his friend by a philosophic tem-

Grounds
for Theban
Success.

Two Men
of Genius.

New Military Tactics.

per and the deep insight of political and military genius. It was he who developed the new tactics that won at



Leuctra. Ordinarily, in a Greek battle the attack was made with the right wing, which sought to outflank the enemy's left wing and throw it back upon the rest of the line. But Epaminondas reversed this order by making his left wing the fighting wing, increasing it to fifty men deep instead of the usual twelve, and

hurling it first upon the enemy's fighting wing, letting the rest of the line follow and complete the overthrow.

The New Theban Policy.

Imperialism.

232. The plans of these two leaders contemplated not merely the freedom of their city from Spartan control, but the establishment of Theban supremacy over Bœotia, and even the substitution of Thebes for Sparta in the hegemony of the Greek world. They had nothing to fear from Dionysius (§ 222), who died in 367 B.C., and whose successor, Dionysius II, had little of the genius and vigor of his father. With Bœotia consolidated, they must gain control over the Peloponnesus, northern Greece and the sea. To this task Thebes, under these leaders, gave her-

self for ten years (371-362 B.C.). In the north the tyrants of Thessaly were subdued, but in the struggle Pelopidas was slain (364 B.C.). The attempt to control the sea brought Thebes into conflict with Athens and led to no result. In the Peloponnesus a better outcome seemed possible. The defeat of Sparta opened the way for the cities, which she had oppressed, to make themselves free. The Arcadians, hitherto split up into petty villages, united in a common state life with its centre at a new city, Megalopolis, and found protection and support from Thebes. Epaminondas marched down into the Peloponnesus, almost captured Sparta, freed the Messenians and set them up as a state. But eager as these states were for freedom, they were not ready to hold it under Theban direction. They turned against their deliverer, and when Epaminondas came down, in 362 B.C., to re-establish Theban authority he found Spartans, Arcadians, Athenians and others in the army that confronted him. The battle was fought at Mantinea. His military genius again gave him the victory, but he himself was sore wounded and died on the field. With his death the Theban supremacy was shattered. What Thebes had accomplished was the overthrow of Sparta's supremacy; her own she could not establish in its place. Greek unity, so urgently needed and so steadily aspired after, seemed farther off than ever.

Its Carry-
ing Out.

In the Pel-
oponnesus.

Mantineia.

The Result.

233. Could Athens bring this about? Such had been the ambition of the restored democracy from the beginning of the fourth century. Various attempts had been made to recover her power over the Ægean cities. Early in 377 B.C. a confederacy of Greek cities under Athenian leadership was proposed, with the ostensible purpose of forcing the Spartans to leave the Greeks free and inde-

Revival of
Athenian
Ambition.

A New
League.

pendent. No possibility of Athenian encroachment upon the rights and powers of the allies was permitted. They united as independent states, about seventy in number, with Athens as the political and military head. The purpose of the league was accomplished so far as it sought the overthrow of Sparta's sea power, but it was too loose a confederation to satisfy Athens or to meet the needs of the time. In 366 B.C., therefore, Athens made a vigorous attempt to turn it into something more like an empire. Under Timotheus, the son of Conon, and Iphicrates, fleets were sent out which reduced Samos to subjection and established Athenian supremacy in the Hellespont and on the Chalcidian peninsula. But opposition was found on every side. Thebes contested the Athenian claim to the sea (§ 232). A new king in Persia, Artaxerxes III (Ochus), came to the throne in 359 B.C., and his energetic activity restored Persia to something like unity and strength. The result was that the Greek cities in the eastern Ægean fell away from Athens to him. The Athenian advance in the north had disturbed Macedonia, where, in 359 B.C., Philip had become king. By clever diplomacy he outwitted Athens and began to secure the Chalcidian cities. Thus, the difficulties were too great. In 355 B.C. Athens made peace with her rebellious allies in the east by renouncing her authority over them; she contented herself with the few possessions which remained in the north, where her trouble with Philip was not yet settled. Greece was in confusion still, and no one could see the end.

Athenian
Failure to
Dominate
It.

Difficulty
with
Macedonia.

Review of
the Situation.

234. As we look back over the fifty years that came to a close with 355 B.C., we notice, in comparison with the fifth century, some significant characteristics. The facts

of the history narrated in the preceding sections show very clearly that it was a time of change and conflict, without any clear aim or satisfactory outcome. The brilliant career of Athens with its imperial aspirations had been brought to naught by the determined opposition of states representing the old Greek principle of the separate independence of the several cities. The victory of Sparta strengthened everything that gathered about that principle—the aristocratic class, the old religion, the dislike of democracy, the preference for constitutions like that of Sparta, which restrained the freedom of the individual citizen in the interest of the state. On the other hand, Imperial Athens, though fallen, handed on the influences and ideals which she had cherished, and they continued to fight for supremacy in the political and social life of the time. The imperial idea was seized by Sparta and Thebes; the impossibility of turning Greece into a mass of petty, independent cities was emphasized by the various leagues which constantly sprang up; the new thought was asserting the importance of the individual man and his demands upon life, upon the state of which he was a citizen, upon the world in which he lived. Thus everywhere it was conflict between return to the past and progress along new paths.

Conflict
between
Old and
New Polit-
ical Ideas

235. Everywhere appeared signs that this was a time of transition. The art of war was changing. The heavy-armed footman, the hoplite, ceased to be the one strong force of the army; the light-armed soldier, the peltast, was found to be more and more useful. It was a great shock to the military science of the time, when the Athenian Iphicrates, in 392 B.C., set upon a regiment of Spartan hoplites with his peltasts and nearly destroyed them all.

Changes in
the Art of
War.

Cavalry also became more important and no army was complete without a strong corps. The new tactics of Epaminondas were likewise revolutionary. Equally striking is the almost universal employment of mercenary soldiers. The long years of the Peloponnesian War bred a generation who knew one thing well—how to fight. The losses of the citizen body in all the cities made it impossible to send out sufficiently large armies of citizens; hence soldiers were hired and the practice of selling oneself for war was a very profitable trade. Generals, too, let themselves out for hire to conduct campaigns. As money was scarce in all the Greek states, and the funds for the payment of mercenaries were soon exhausted, opposing generals avoided decisive battles and sought to prolong the manoeuvres until the opposing force was disbanded for lack of funds. Thus war was carried on quite scientifically and with much less bloodshed.

**Confusion
in Politics.**

236. Another illustration of this time of change is found in the politics of the day. It is a mixture of petty conflicts and local problems with great plans and large ambitions. The imperial strivings of each of the greater states were checked by the obstinate opposition of smaller states. Each state had its own war of factions—aristocrat

Factions.

against democrat. The complicated politics of the time was due to the ceaseless intrigues of these little cities, now swinging to this side, now to that. Fear and jealousy, ambition and conservatism, were contending impulses in every community. At the same time the problems of these states were of the pettiest order. They were all reduced in population and resources. Sparta's legitimate citizens at the end of the Peloponnesian War numbered only about 2,000. Athens was hard pressed to keep up

**Decline of
the Citizen
Body.**

her citizen body and only during these years was willing to extend the privilege of citizenship with some degree of generosity to outsiders, a measure in which she was followed by other states, even by Sparta. The difficult question of finance was a pressing one. Athens was constantly on the verge of financial exhaustion, although she had a fairly prosperous commercial activity. When they had the opportunity, recourse was had both by Athens and Sparta to plundering defenceless regions and forcing contributions from weaker cities. Piracy was not uncommon. Sometimes the baser expedient of robbing temples was tried. Hence came the importance of the alliance with Persia, for that meant Persian gold.

Problem of Finance.

237. The brightest side of the life of the time appears in the higher spheres of art and literature. During these years of turmoil they went steadily forward. Even in the Peloponnesian War, sculptors could put forth such splendid creations as the *Nike* ("Victory") by Pæonius, set up by the Messenians at Olympia. The greatest sculptor of the age was Praxiteles, whose finest work, the *Hermes*, reveals the chief note of progress. It consists in the freer expression of human emotion, the delineation of man as an individual with his special traits and feelings, contrasting thus with the more restrained and heroic ideals of the age of Pericles (§ 182). As the Parthenon is the finest example of Periclean architecture, so the tomb of Mausolos, satrap and king of Caria, reveals for this age the union of sculpture and architecture at its highest point. The greatest artists of the time worked upon it. Painting, also, took a place in the art of the day never attained before. The houses of the rich were adorned by frescoes and the works of great painters. Indeed, everywhere

Art and Literature Flourish.

The New Sculpture.

Architecture.

Painting.

Enrich-
ment of
Life.

greater luxury, a finer taste in private life, appeared, illustrated in the pursuits of hunting, in enjoyment of the country and agricultural activity, and even in cookery, all of which were studied as arts and on which books were written that have come down to us.

Intellectual
Life at
Athens.

238. Athens was the bright star in the world of literature and thought. Shorn of her imperial position in the political world, she laid her hand of power upon the higher realm of letters and philosophy, and won an unquestioned triumph. What Pericles had claimed (§ 186) now came true. Athens was the teacher of Greece. At first things seemed to point in the other direction. The backward look toward the past, so characteristic of this age (§ 234), tended to the suppression of the new learning. Indeed, one awful blunder, worse than a crime, was made by this reactionary spirit in 399 B.C., when Socrates (§ 205) was put to death as an impious and pernicious man. But disciples, inspired by his teaching, took up his work and carried on the new learning to higher flights. One of the most attractive of these men was Xenophon (434-354 B.C.).

Execution
of Socrates.

His
Disciples.

Xenophon.

It is said that Xenophon, when a young and handsome boy, was one day halted in the streets of Athens by Socrates, who asked him where various articles of merchandise could be bought. He politely told him. Then Socrates asked, "But where can one get good and honorable men?" When the boy could not answer, the philosopher replied, "Follow me," and Xenophon became his disciple.

It was not altogether with the approval of Socrates that Xenophon joined the army of Cyrus (§ 225), and the outcome of that expedition, while it brought honor to the young leader, ruined his career as an Athenian. As a friend of Sparta, he was banished from Athens and went

to live on an estate in Elis presented to him by the Spartans. There he wrote many books. The most important are the *Memoirs of Socrates*, a worthy record of his master's career and teachings; the *Cyropedia*, a kind of historical romance glorifying the elder Cyrus of Persia (§ 85); the *Anabasis*, which has already been referred to (§ 225), and the *Hellenica*, a history of Greece from the close of the Peloponnesian War to the battle of Mantinea. Xenophon is a typical man of his time, a conservative, clear-headed, sensible, healthy nature, roused into vigorous thinking by the spur of Socrates, but unwilling or unable wholly to yield to the impulse of his master—a son of progressive Athens taking halting Sparta for his foster-father.

239. A far abler disciple was Plato (428–347 B.C.), Plato. one of the most brilliant philosophers of all time. He is an example of the contradictions of this troubled age. Born into the circle of Athenian aristocracy, one of the company of brilliant young men that surrounded Socrates, he would have nothing to do with the politics of democratic Athens; yet he was passionately devoted to the study of politics; and even went to Syracuse, in the time of Dionysius II, to introduce his theories into actual practice. Of course they failed. He gathered about himself in Athens His Philosophy. a body of disciples. In opposition to the material and often sordid activities of his city and age, he taught them the doctrine that things on earth are faint and faded copies of perfect spiritual realities above this world, abiding, pure, divine. The perfect life is that which comes into harmony with these. The death of Socrates inspired him to write his *Apology of Socrates*, an endeavor to present in substance the defence which Socrates uttered before the court that condemned him. His writings took almost always

the form of dialogues. They deal with a variety of philosophical and political subjects and are written in a poetical prose of wondrous refinement and fascination. The *Republic* pictures his ideal commonwealth. The *Phædo* offers an argument for the immortality of the soul. The *Symposium* discusses love as the supreme element in the universe. From the vicinity of his home to the gymnasium of Academus, his school is called the "Academy."

Isocrates.

240. While possessing nothing like the genius of Plato, more truly a child of his age is Isocrates (436-338 B.C.). Indeed, more fully than any other writer or thinker, he represents the Athens of the fourth century, its culture, its doubts, and its hopes. He sought no public activity, yet devoted himself to the training of men for public life. He taught them philosophy, science and character. His was the most popular school and he the ablest teacher in the Greek world. As a literary man he was the creator of a classical prose style, smooth, liquid, pure—possibly lacking in strength and fire. As a political philosopher his view was broad and high. At first he hoped, like so many men of his time, that the old union of Sparta, the land power, and Athens, the sea power, of the Greek world might be revived to be the salvation of Greece. Such was his plea in his *Panegyricus*, delivered at Olympia on the occasion of the hundredth Olympiad (380 B.C.). He rose to a higher ideal, the union of all Greece under a single leader and the advance of united Greece against Persia—the recovery of Greek unity and honor. The trouble was he could get no leader—he summoned one after another of the states to this task. But as his long life drew to a close, one did appear, and Isocrates could look forward hopefully to the realizing of his ideal. That

A Typical
Man of the
Time.

leader was Philip, King of Macedon, whose career is a turning-point in Greek history.

241. Our study of the Oriental empires has shown how with the decay of the nations of culture, there appear new peoples, rude and strong, to overrun and rule their weaker but more highly developed neighbors, absorb their culture and carry the world a stage farther in the march of progress (§ 40). Such was to be the solution of the problem of the Greek world. In the western and northern parts of the Greek peninsula was a mass of peoples on the borders of civilization, becoming slowly affected by it, forming out of loose tribal conditions states of a steadily increasing strength and unity. Some had already been drawn into the circle of Greek politics and war, like Ætolia, Acarnania and Ambracia. And now, even beyond these, in the wild region of Epirus, occupied by a mixture of races, kingdoms like that of the Molossi began to emerge. A new Greece was rising as the old Greece declined.

How Can
Greece be
Revived
and
United?

New
Peoples.

In the
Northwest.

242. It was in the northeast, rather than in the west, however, that advance was more rapid. This was to be expected, since the eastern coast of Greece had been the scene of the most vigorous life from the earliest period. Here, lying back from the northwestern Ægean and cut off from Thessaly by lofty mountains, lay Macedonia. Its people were a strange complex of races: to the north and west Illyrian, to the east Thracian, mixed with the purer Macedonian blood, but all paying uncertain allegiance to a line of kings whose capital was at Ægæ, far in the interior, at the head of the great plain that stretched down to the Thermaic gulf. These kings, handing down their throne from father to son, steadily grew in power

Rise of
Macedonia.

Relation
to Greece.

and importance. The position of Macedonia drew them early into the circle of Greek politics; it is their lasting merit that they saw and valued the importance of cultivating relations with the Greek states. The first of the kings to come into historic light took the side of the Greeks in the first Persian wars. They encouraged Greek settlements on their shores. They even claimed descent from the Greek god and hero, Heracles, and the claim was acknowledged by the privilege conferred upon them of contesting in the Olympic games.

Growth of
Macedo-
nian Na-
tional Life.

243. Brought thus into close contact with the intense spirit of Greek national life and culture, the Macedonian king and his people naturally were inspired to develop their own nationality. Two things were necessary for this result. First, the loose attachment of the tribes in the west and north must be turned into a firm allegiance to the sovereign. Second, the sea-coast must be secured. The first of these was undertaken in a series of military operations carried on by king after king with very moderate success. The second meant obtaining supremacy over the flourishing Greek cities which, for centuries planted on the peninsulas of Chalcidice, had monopolized the rich trade with the interior. As most of the cities belonged to the Athenian Empire, the kings were involved in difficulties with Athens. This complication bound them up even more closely with the political and military movements of the Greek world. Thus, little by little, Macedonia was being prepared to grapple decisively with the problem that Athens, Sparta and Thebes in turn had laid down.

King
Philip.

244. At this crisis Philip was on the throne, a man in genius and energy fully equal to the situation. He brought

to a successful end the unifying of his kingdom. By a series of tremendous campaigns in west and north and east, he broke down the resistance of the rude and war-like Illyrian tribes, drove back or absorbed the Thracians and welded all into a living and concordant unity. The nation that sprang into full life was animated by a common spirit of military zeal and personal loyalty to the king. A new army was formed and trained to a perfection never before reached. The foot-soldiers were formed in close array somewhat deeper than the ordinary Greek hoplite army and armed with longer spears. This was the Phalanx. The chief reliance was the cavalry, both light and heavy armed, made up of the nobility, men in the prime of physical vigor and of high spirit. In a battle their charge upon the enemy's flank, made as one man with tremendous force, usually decided the day. All advances in the art of war made by the Greeks during the preceding years were brought together by Philip in his military organization. He had an abundance of light-armed troops and a splendid siege-train. He himself was the animating soul, the directing genius of the whole organization. All the soldiers were called "companions," and the word well expresses the relation to their head which he was able to inspire. The new Macedonia was a nation under arms.

His Army.

245. Philip was equally successful in the second of the tasks laid upon the Macedonian sovereign—the securing of the sea-coast. By a combination of skilful diplomacy and vigorous warfare he proceeded to wrest from Athens the cities under her influence and to reduce the others to subjection. With the fall of the most important of them all, Amphipolis (357 B.C.), he was master of the central

The Advance to the Coast.

trade-routes; the gold mines on the northeastern border were secured; the city of Philippi was built to guard them; a small navy was begun. By 348 B.C. every Greek city on the coast of Macedonia was in his hands. The capital of his kingdom was removed from Ægæ and established farther down the plain at Pella. This work accomplished invited him to the other and greater achievement—the leadership of Greece.

Philip
Secures a
Foothold in
Greece.

The
"Sacred
War."

246. The opportunity came in an outbreak in middle Greece. The Amphictyonic Council (§ 118) had proceeded against the Phocians on a charge of doing violence to the rights of the temple at Delphi. On their refusal to submit, the council declared war against them. They seized the temple and borrowed its treasures to hire soldiers for their defence. Little by little all Greece was drawn in. The active members of the Amphictyonic Council were Thebes, Locris and Thessaly. For Phocis were Athens and Sparta. The Phocians also succeeded in gaining the tyrants of Thessalian Pheræ to their side; this led the rest of the Thessalians to ask Philip to lead them. Thus Philip crossed the border of Greece and became master of Thessaly (353 B.C.). The full meaning of the new situation soon became clear. Greece was on the verge of a greater struggle than the petty Sacred War. Philip had come within her gates.

His
Attitude
toward
Greece.

247. It is important to observe Philip's ideals and ambitions. He was a true Macedonian, a fearless, impetuous, relentless, unsparing warrior, a deep drinker and reckless reveller, yet devoted to the upbuilding of his kingdom and utterly unscrupulous as to the means of accomplishing it. At the same time he cherished a strong admiration for Greece, was immensely proud of his Greek descent, and

estimated the favor and recognition conferred by Greece above almost everything else in the world. Greek culture, long welcomed at the Macedonian court, had deeply impressed him. For some years he had resided at Thebes as a hostage in the hands of Epaminondas, and had studied, not in vain, the political situation. He aspired to be the leader of Greece, then, not merely for his own glory and that of Macedonia, not that he might plant his foot on the neck of Greek freedom, but rather because he was, in a kind of romantic reverence for her ancient fame and her immortal culture, conscious of the dignity and glory to be gained thereby. This feeling seemed to concentrate on Athens. Although Philip was constantly at war with that city, he was ever ready to make peace with her, to excuse the hostility and perfidy with which she dealt with him and to spare her at the last. Thus the leadership which he craved was for the purpose of securing peace among free Greek communities. He would have them recognize in him their arbiter and friend. He went a step farther, and saw in the unity of Greece, secured by him, the means for carrying out the ideal which Isocrates had already described (§ 240), the punishment of Persia for its lordship over the Greek states. It was with purposes like these, in which the lust of conquest was mixed with the higher ideals of Greek unity and supremacy, that Philip set foot upon Greek soil and began to push steadily southward.

His Ideal
for Greece

What His
Leadership
Meant.

248. Who, after all, could or would oppose him? Had not everything been moving in the direction of unity--Athens, Sparta, Thebes seeking to bring it about? Why not hail his coming as a relief from the half century of turmoil that had just passed? The answer to these

The Old
Problem
Revives.

questions is the same as that which was given to Athens, Sparta and Thebes—Greece will not submit to the authority of one. Independence for the separate states—the principle of autonomy—was now to clash again with the impulse to unity. Strange to say, the leader in this last struggle for Greek freedom was Athens. We have already seen how Philip's successful activities in securing the Macedonian sea-coast had brought him into conflict with the Athenians (§ 243). A vigorous campaign in 352 B.C. had made him master of Thrace, where he threatened the Athenian possessions on that coast. The "Sacred War" (§ 246) had embittered the situation still more. Thus far, however, Athens had done little more than defend herself against Macedonian aggression. But now she entered upon a new activity under the leadership of Demosthenes, the most famous orator of the ancient world.

Athens
against
Philip.

Demosthenes.

249. Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.) began the study and practice of oratory under Isæus, one of the leading practical lawyers of Athens, in order to recover his property, of which in his orphaned childhood his guardians had robbed him. He overcame all his many natural defects by persistent toil, and in the process became not only a wonderful speaker, but a successful politician. His orations against Philip—called *Philippics*—and his other speeches, of which many have been preserved, show a combination of close logic, intensity of spirit and beauty of language which are without parallel. The most renowned of them is the *Oration on the Crown*, delivered in defence of his policy on the occasion of a proposal to the people to offer him a crown in reward for his public service (330 B.C.).

250. Demosthenes had already advocated a more vig-

orous war policy than the defensive one which had hitherto prevailed, but, after the brilliant successes of Philip, he had agreed to a peace in 346 B.C., which was sorely needed by Athens. But when Philip desired to enter into closer relations of friendship with Athens, Demosthenes induced the Athenians to hold back. Meanwhile, Philip was elected a member of the Amphictyonic League in the place of the Phocians, and thus was entered legally among the Greek powers. This was the opportunity taken by Demosthenes to launch his new enterprise—the aggressive union of all the Greek states against the dangerous Macedonian enemy. He had some success; states in the Peloponnesus and on the northern Ægean entered a league. At last, the Amphictyonic Council, unsupported by Athens and Thebes, invited Philip to lead another “sacred war.” This brought matters to a head. The Thebans joined the anti-Macedonian union and prepared to resist Philip’s march. The decisive battle was fought in Bœotia at Chæroneia (338 B.C.). The Macedonian cavalry was led by Philip’s son Alexander, then sixteen years of age. Demosthenes served as a heavy-armed soldier in the Athenian ranks. The result was the complete victory of Philip; the Thebans were cut to pieces; the Athenians were routed and ran away.

He Champions the Anti-Macedonian Policy.

Chæroneia.

251. The victory of Chæroneia meant the supremacy of Macedonia and the Macedonian king over the Greek world. The Greeks had fallen into the hands of no city-state among their own number, but found a master in the monarch of a kingdom which they regarded as outside their circle and had only grudgingly admitted among them. But Philip had no intention of playing the tyrant. He wanted to be the acknowledged head of free communi-

Result: Philip at the Head of Greece.

ties united of their own accord under his leadership. Accordingly, he summoned the states to meet at Corinth and form a Confederacy. In 337 B.C. he announced at the meeting his purpose to lead them against Persia. It was necessary, however, to establish Macedonian garrisons in strategic points; for the Greeks were unwilling even now to accept Macedonian supremacy. The outcome, however, was certain, since the power of Philip was too great to be successfully resisted. Opposition to it could only end in disaster, in the renewal of strife, which was ruinous to the states themselves, and could not accomplish anything except bring down the wrath of Philip and sorer punishment at his hands.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion.

2. THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT EMPIRE.

(a) The Persian Wars. (b) The rise of the Athenian Empire. (c) The Age of Pericles. (d) The Peloponnesian War. (e) Other Imperial Attempts: Sparta revives oligarchy by force (the thirty at Athens, Lysander in power)—empire of Dionysius in Sicily—the struggle for imperialism at Sparta—complications with Persia—the “Anabasis”—war with Persia—Agesilaus in Asia Minor—difficulties at home—peace of Antalcidas—its outcome—the Theban trouble (Cadmeia, Leuctra, the Theban heroes—army)—Theban imperialism (in the Peloponnesus, elsewhere, Mantinea, the outcome)—Athenian revival (the league and its failure)—Summary of the situation (transition of ideas, art of war, politics, finance)—growth of art and literature (sculpture and painting, death of Socrates, Xenophon, Plato, Isocrates)—the problem solved by new peoples—rise of Macedonia (place and people, relation to Greece, national life, its problems)—Philip and his achievements (the army, the nation, the coast, advance into Greece, attitude toward Greece, who opposed him, Demosthenes and his work, Chaeroneia, result)—summary of Greek history from this point of view.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following noted: Cunaxa, Coroneia, Olynthus, Megalopolis, Epirus, Pella, Chæroneia? 2. Who were Lysander, Dionysius, Agesilaus, Conon, Pelopidas, Iphicrates, Maussolus, Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes? 3. What is meant by harmost, autonomy, peltast, academy, phalanx, amphictyony?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the Spartan imperial rule with that of Athens (§§ 163, 164, 190). 2. Compare Epaminondas with Pericles. 3. Compare the battle of Chæroneia with that of Marathon.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. **Spartan Imperialism.** Morey, pp. 277-281; Shuckburgh, pp. 260-273; Botsford, pp. 250-268; Plutarch, *Lives of Lysander and Agesilaus*. 2. **The Thirty at Athens.** Bury, pp. 507-513. 3. **Art and Literature at Athens.** Bury, pp. 574-590. 4. **Xenophon.** Jebb, pp. 109-114; Capps, pp. 330-338; Murray, ch. 15. 5. **Plato.** Jebb, pp. 126-129; Capps, ch. 15; Murray, ch. 14. 6. **Isocrates.** Jebb, pp. 119-120; Capps, pp. 345-347; Murray, pp. 341-352. 7. **The Empire of Dionysius.** Bury, pp. 638-666; Botsford, 239-245; Morey, pp. 284-286. 8. **The Theban Uprising.** Botsford, pp. 268-274. 9. **Epaminondas and Thebes.** Bury, pp. 625-626; Shuckburgh, pp. 274-278; Zimmern, ch. 19; Botsford, pp. 275-283; Plutarch, *Life of Pelopidas*. 10. **Macedonia.** Morey, pp. 300-302; Shuckburgh, 280-282; Bury, pp. 683-688; Botsford, pp. 297-302. 11. **Philip and Demosthenes.** Bury, pp. 687-737; Shuckburgh, pp. 283-291; Zimmern, ch. 20. 12. **The "Anabasis" of Cyrus.** Zimmern, pp. 301-307; Bury, pp. 517-530.

252. Thus the brilliant chapter of Greek independent political life came to an end. Beginning with petty communities growing up in secluded valleys, the Greeks came to value above all else the blessing of freedom, the glory of the independence of separate states, each working out its own problems. They learned, also, how to give to each citizen a place and a part in the common life. But situated as the Greek peninsula was, midway between east and west and open to the influences of Oriental civilization, its states were drawn together by the unifying forces of com-

The Passing of Greece.

Summary of its Career.

merce and international politics. A heroic war of defence against the conquering Empire of Persia made them one for a season, and the resulting political conditions gave the opportunity to one of their states—Athens—to take a commanding position in the Ægean sea. Thus the impulse to union was strengthened and took on an imperial form. But the new tendency to empire clashed with the old principle of autonomy, and the conflict dominated succeeding Greek history. Athens fell, only to be succeeded by Sparta and Thebes, each following in her steps. A similar movement was made in Sicily, where Dionysius extended his personal rule over a wide territory. But in the fierce conflict of old and new all these imperial endeavors perished. The consummation of the centuries of troubled progress toward unity was at last realized in Philip of Macedon, with whose victory at Chæroneia the importance of the separate city-states came to an end. Their endeavors after empire were swallowed up in a mightier imperial achievement which now appeared on the horizon—the Empire of Alexander.

GENERAL REVIEW OF PART II, DIVISION 2; §§ 193-252

431-331 B.C.

TOPICS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION. 1. The fundamental political issue of the Peloponnesian War traced through the various stages of the war (§ 193). 2. The growth of Imperialism as illustrated in the history of the states of the time (§§ 158, 164, 190, 223, 232, 233, 240). 3. The policy of Athens in the Peloponnesian War as illustrated in the leaders Pericles, Cleon, Nicias, Alcibiades. 4. The policy of Sparta in the war as illustrated in the leaders Brasidas and Lysander. 5. The new learning as illustrative of the spirit of the times (§§ 199-206). 6. A List of the Ten Greatest Men of Greece, from 431-331 B.C. 7. The Part played by Persia during the period from 431-338

<p>485</p> <p>491 Gelon becomes tyrant of Syracuse.</p>	<p>Leonidas</p> <p>479</p> <p>478</p> <p>480 War between Carthage and Syracuse. Battle of Himera.</p>	<p>Miltiades</p> <p>Aristides</p> <p>Themistocles</p> <p>Cimon</p> <p>Ephialtes</p> <p>459 War between Corinth and Aegina and Athens.</p> <p>457 Battle of Tanagra.</p> <p>456 Battle of Oenophyta.</p> <p>450 Five Years Truce.</p> <p>445 Thirty Years Peace.</p>	<p>499</p> <p>Ionian Revolt</p> <p>494</p> <p>492 Persian Expedition under Mardonius.</p> <p>490 Second Persian Expedition ending at Marathon.</p> <p>486 Egypt revolts from Persia.</p> <p>483 Themistocles' Naval Decree.</p> <p>482 Ostracism of Aristides.</p> <p>481 Persian Invasion under Xerxes.</p> <p>Battles of Thermopylae, Salamis,</p> <p>479 Plataea and Mycale.</p> <p>475 Formation of Delian Confederacy.</p> <p>471 Ostracism of Themistocles.</p> <p>466 Battle of Eurymedon.</p> <p>466 Rebellion of Naxos.</p> <p>465 Rebellion of Thasos.</p> <p>462 Overthrow of the Areopagus.</p> <p>461 Ostracism of Cimon.</p> <p>459 Athenian expedition to Egypt.</p> <p>458 Building of Long Walls of Athens.</p> <p>457 Archonship opened to Zeugitae.</p> <p>454 Athenian Fleet destroyed in Egypt.</p> <p>454 Treasury of Delian League moved to Athens.</p> <p>Phidias</p> <p>449 Athenian expedition to Cyprus.</p> <p>448 Peace of Callias.</p> <p>443 Ostracism of Thucydides (son of Melesias).</p> <p>443 Thurii in Italy founded.</p> <p>438 Parthenon completed.</p>	<p>496</p> <p>Pindar</p> <p>Aeschylus</p> <p>484</p> <p>483</p> <p>482</p> <p>481</p> <p>480</p> <p>479</p> <p>478</p> <p>477</p> <p>476</p> <p>475</p> <p>474</p> <p>473</p> <p>472</p> <p>471</p> <p>470</p> <p>469</p> <p>468</p> <p>467</p> <p>466</p> <p>465</p> <p>464</p> <p>463</p> <p>462</p> <p>461</p> <p>460</p> <p>459</p> <p>458</p> <p>457</p> <p>456</p> <p>455</p> <p>454</p> <p>453</p> <p>452</p> <p>451</p> <p>450</p> <p>449</p> <p>448</p> <p>447</p> <p>446</p> <p>445</p> <p>444</p> <p>443</p> <p>442</p> <p>441</p> <p>440</p> <p>439</p> <p>438</p> <p>437</p> <p>436</p> <p>435</p> <p>434</p> <p>433</p> <p>432</p> <p>431</p> <p>430</p> <p>429</p> <p>428</p> <p>427</p> <p>426</p> <p>425</p> <p>424</p> <p>423</p> <p>422</p> <p>421</p> <p>420</p> <p>419</p> <p>418</p> <p>417</p> <p>416</p> <p>415</p>	<p>423 "The Victory" of Paeanion.</p>
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410	410 Battle of Cyzicus.	408 Persia allies with Sparta. 407 Battle of Notium 406 Battle of Arginusae. 405 Battle of Egospotami. 404 Surrender of Athens.	406 399 398 406	411 The Four Hundred at Athens.	
405	405 Dionysius becomes tyrant of Syracuse. 402 March of the 10,000 and 601 Battle of Cunaxa	Lyson under Pausanias Agessilaus	404		
396	391 Battles of Coroneia and Oinoboi. War between Sparta and Persia. 387 Peace of Antalcidas. 382 Spartans seize Thebes.	392 Iphicrates destroys a Spartan regiment with his peltasts.	391 385 381	393 Canon rebuilds the walls of Athens. Plato Xenophon Isocrates	
380	379 Expulsion of Spartans from Thebes. 371 Battle of Leuctra. 367 Death of Dionysius I. of Syracuse.	Cleombrotus Epaminondas Pelopidas	371 370 362	377 Second Confederacy under leadership of Athens. Praxiteles 386 Rebellions in Athenian Confederacy.	
365	362 Battle of Mantinea.	MACEDONIA 359 Philip becomes King of Macedonia 353 Philip master of Thessaly.	354 353 352	358 Social war, Athens and Allies. 355 Peace between Athens and her Allies.	
350		346 Philip admitted to Amphictyonic League. Sacred War 338 Battle of Chaeroneia 337 Congress at Corinth. 336 Death of Philip	346 345 344 343 342 341 340 338		
345		Accession of Alexander 334 Battle of Granicus. 333 Battle of Issus. 331 Battle of Arbela.	335 334 333 331	341 340 338 335 334 333 331 330 328 327 326 325 324 323 322 321 320 319 318 317 316 315 314 313 312 311 310 309 308 307 306 305 304 303 302 301 300 299 298 297 296 295 294 293 292 291 290 289 288 287 286 285 284 283 282 281 280 279 278 277 276 275 274 273 272 271 270 269 268 267 266 265 264 263 262 261 260 259 258 257 256 255 254 253 252 251 250 249 248 247 246 245 244 243 242 241 240 239 238 237 236 235 234 233 232 231 230 229 228 227 226 225 224 223 222 221 220 219 218 217 216 215 214 213 212 211 210 209 208 207 206 205 204 203 202 201 200 199 198 197 196 195 194 193 192 191 190 189 188 187 186 185 184 183 182 181 180 179 178 177 176 175 174 173 172 171 170 169 168 167 166 165 164 163 162 161 160 159 158 157 156 155 154 153 152 151 150 149 148 147 146 145 144 143 142 141 140 139 138 137 136 135 134 133 132 131 130 129 128 127 126 125 124 123 122 121 120 119 118 117 116 115 114 113 112 111 110 109 108 107 106 105 104 103 102 101 100 99 98 97 96 95 94 93 92 91 90 89 88 87 86 85 84 83 82 81 80 79 78 77 76 75 74 73 72 71 70 69 68 67 66 65 64 63 62 61 60 59 58 57 56 55 54 53 52 51 50 49 48 47 46 45 44 43 42 41 40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0	341 340 338 335 334 333 331 330 328 327 326 325 324 323 322 321 320 319 318 317 316 315 314 313 312 311 310 309 308 307 306 305 304 303 302 301 300 299 298 297 296 295 294 293 292 291 290 289 288 287 286 285 284 283 282 281 280 279 278 277 276 275 274 273 272 271 270 269 268 267 266 265 264 263 262 261 260 259 258 257 256 255 254 253 252 251 250 249 248 247 246 245 244 243 242 241 240 239 238 237 236 235 234 233 232 231 230 229 228 227 226 225 224 223 222 221 220 219 218 217 216 215 214 213 212 211 210 209 208 207 206 205 204 203 202 201 200 199 198 197 196 195 194 193 192 191 190 189 188 187 186 185 184 183 182 181 180 179 178 177 176 175 174 173 172 171 170 169 168 167 166 165 164 163 162 161 160 159 158 157 156 155 154 153 152 151 150 149 148 147 146 145 144 143 142 141 140 139 138 137 136 135 134 133 132 131 130 129 128 127 126 125 124 123 122 121 120 119 118 117 116 115 114 113 112 111 110 109 108 107 106 105 104 103 102 101 100 99 98 97 96 95 94 93 92 91 90 89 88 87 86 85 84 83 82 81 80 79 78 77 76 75 74 73 72 71 70 69 68 67 66 65 64 63 62 61 60 59 58 57 56 55 54 53 52 51 50 49 48 47 46 45 44 43 42 41 40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

B.C. 8. The Relation of Macedonia to the Greek states historically traced down to 338 B.C. 9. The Part played by Sea power in the Peloponnesian War. 10. The Divisions of the Greek World which were chiefly the scene of the Peloponnesian War.

MAP AND PICTURE EXERCISES. 1. Make a map of Greece during the Peloponnesian War and locate the chief land battles. 2. Make a map of the Ægean and locate on it the chief naval battles of the Peloponnesian War. 3. How did it happen that statues like the Hermes (Plate VIII) and buildings like the Parthenon (Plate I) were produced by the Greeks and not the Oriental peoples? 4. Study Plate XIII to observe how superior the Greek sculpture is to the Egyptian in composition. What has the Egyptian which the Greek lacks?

SUBJECTS FOR WRITTEN PAPERS. 1. The Weaknesses of Athenian Democracy as Illustrated in the Peloponnesian War. Fowler, *The City State of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 176-183, 245-260. 2. A Play of Euripides, e.g., the "Electra" or "Bacchæ"—the story of the play and its testimony to the times. Coleridge, *Translation of Euripides*. 3. A Talk with Socrates Regarding His Condemnation by the Athenians. Plato, the *Apology*. 4. A Study of the Character of Alcibiades. Plutarch, *Life of Alcibiades*. 5. Why the Greeks were Able to Drive Back the Persians and yet Fell under the Macedonian Power. Fowler, *The City State*, etc., chs. 9 and 11. 6. A Description of the Disaster at Syracuse. Jowett's *Thucydides*. 7. A Report of the Discussion in the Athenian Assembly Concerning the Punishment of Mitylene. Jowett's *Thucydides*.

3.—THE EMPIRES OF ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS TO THE APPEARANCE OF ROME IN THE EAST

331–200 B.C.

(1) ALEX-
ANDER'S
EMPIRE.
Alexander
King of
Macedonia.

His Prep-
aration for
the Throne.

253. Hardly had Philip organized his new Greek confederacy when, in connection with troubles in the Macedonian court, he was murdered (336 B.C.). His son Alexander succeeded to his throne and his plans. The son was, in many respects, the image of his father—of splendid physical constitution and fascinating personality, possessing the same combination of unyielding will and romantic sensibility; both were too much alike, indeed, to get on well together, and it was said that the father had little notion of permitting the son to succeed him. But Alexander's training had been such as to prepare him to rule. His education had been conducted under Greek teachers; his tutor was Aristotle, the keenest and most learned mind of the time. His military training had been gained in his father's school of arms, and Philip was the finest soldier of his day. Now the victories of Philip had put into his hands a united Macedonia and the leadership of the Greek world; he was the general of a magnificently organized and equipped army of 60,000 men; the splendid project of the deliverance of the Asiatic Greeks from the Persian sway was left to him for realization. He, the young man of scarce twenty-one years, stood on the threshold of an incomparable career; on his action hung the destiny of centuries to come.

254. His first task was to establish his position in Greece. Here the death of Philip was followed by attempts to throw

off Macedonian supremacy. Two expeditions were sufficient to settle matters. In the first, Alexander was acknowledged by the states assembled at Corinth as head of the Greek confederacy. In the second, a Theban rebellion was nipped in the bud and Thebes was levelled to the ground as a punishment (335 B.C.). Athens, though equally offending, was spared. During the same time the king made two campaigns upon his northern borders; in the one he subdued the Thracians and crossed the Danube; in the other he routed the Illyrians in the northwest.

His
Settlement
with
Greece.

255. Already to the daring ambition of the youthful Alexander, Philip's plan to deliver the Greek cities of Asia from Persia had become too small. His purpose was nothing less than to strike at the heart of the Empire itself and to take full vengeance for the wrongs which it had inflicted upon the Greeks. To the fulfilment of this purpose he now set himself. The co-operation of the Greeks had already been promised, though in fact it amounted to little. His dependence must be upon his own Macedonian army with its trained soldiery and its skilful generals, all alike devoted to himself. With an army of some 40,000 men, of which 5,000 were cavalry, he set forth across the Hellespont in 334 B.C., leaving behind him his general, Antipater, with a strong force as his representative and the guardian of Macedonian interests in Greece.

His Pur-
pose
against
Persia.

The Start.

The spirit and purposes of the king and his generals are illustrated in the anecdote preserved in Plutarch. On the eve of his departure he distributed among his friends who were to accompany him a great part of his royal property. Whereupon Perdicas asked him what he left for himself. He replied, "My hopes." Then Perdicas said, "Let us be your partners in these," and refused to accept the king's gift.

Condition
of Persia.

256. The Persian Empire, although it had sadly declined from the spirit of its founders, and the luxury and corruption of the court had undermined the vigor and efficiency of the rulers, was still a mighty and formidable state. Artaxerxes III (§ 233) had been very successful in putting down rebellions and had restored imperial prestige. But court intrigues made way with him in 338 B.C. and with his son after him. Now there sat on the throne Darius III (Codomannus), a noble not of the royal line, a high-minded and generous ruler, but able, neither in intellect nor in circumstances, to cope with the situation that faced him. Neither he nor his counsellors realized that they were no longer contending with a divided and inefficient Greece, whose leaders they had been accustomed to corrupt with their gold, or render powerless by stirring up difficulties at home.

Darius III.

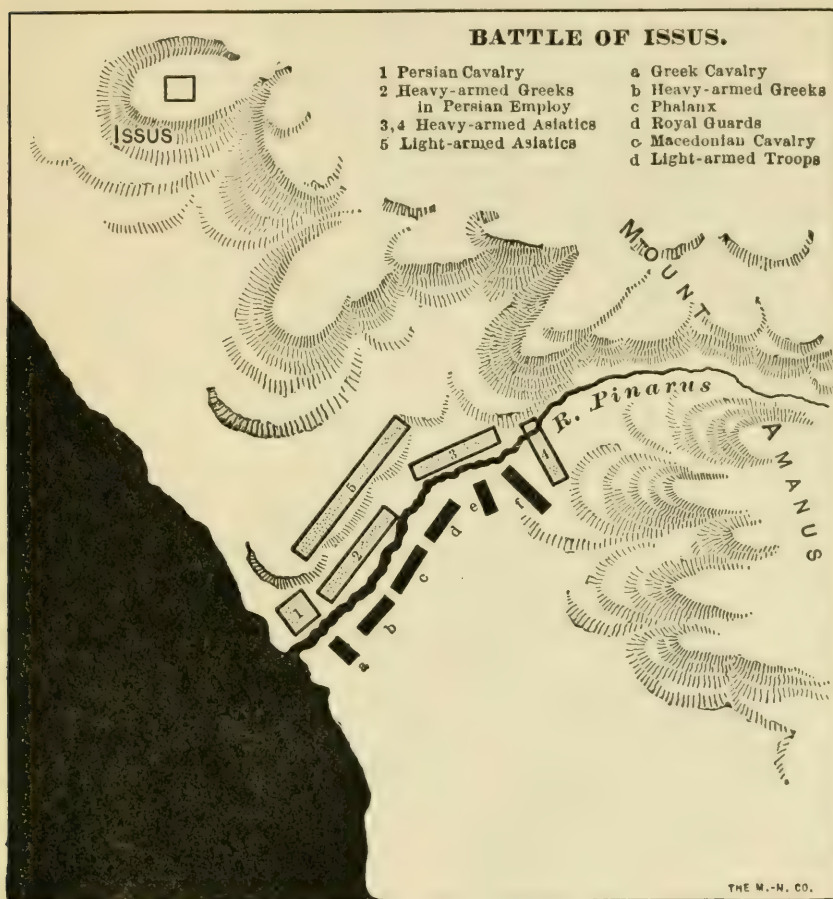
Alexander
in Asia
Minor.

Granicus.

257. Accordingly, Alexander found himself confronted with an army, not much larger than his own, led by the Persian satraps of Asia Minor. A battle took place in June, 334 B.C., at the river Granicus, on the farther bank of which the Persian army was posted in a strong position. Alexander swept across the river with his heavy cavalry and fell upon the enemy's cavalry. On their rout the Macedonian phalanx followed and engaged the Persian infantry in front, while the cavalry attacked their flanks—the favorite military tactics of Alexander. They could not stand, and when they fled, the battle was won. The rest of the year was occupied in winning back the Ionian cities and the other strongholds of western Asia Minor. Thus the first part of the task was accomplished.

258. In the spring of 333 B.C. Alexander set out from Gorgeium in Phrygia, by a rapid march seized the passes

into Cilicia and captured Tarsus, its capital. After being delayed here for some days on account of a nearly fatal illness, he marched forward along the coast toward Syria.



Meanwhile, Darius with his army had advanced into Syria, and failing to find his enemy, had marched through an upper road into Cilicia and descended to the plain of Issus in the rear of Alexander. The latter immediately turned about, and the second great battle was joined at Issus. Again, as at the Granicus, the Persians stood on the defensive at the bank of a river and Alexander sprang

like a tiger upon the enemy with his heavy cavalry, followed by his foot-soldiers. The struggle was much more fierce; once the phalanx seemed to be broken; the light cavalry on the left were hard pressed. But again Alexander's rush carried all before it; the phalanx recovered and the Persians broke in flight for the mountains. Darius barely escaped, leaving his tent, personal baggage and household to fall into the enemy's hands. The way was now open for the conquest of western Asia, and Alexander descended into Syria.

Alexander
Moves
Southward.

Tyre.

259. Leaving Darius to continue his flight to the east unhindered, Alexander moved southward to take possession of Phœnicia, Palestine and Egypt. The Persian fleet, made up chiefly of Phœnician vessels, was master of the sea and could be subdued only by getting possession of the Phœnician seaports. City after city submitted until Tyre was reached. Situated on an island, strongly fortified, it held out for seven months in one of the greatest sieges of history. The king built a mole to the island half a mile into the deep, and, by the aid of the fleets of the cities of Phœnicia and Cyprus that had yielded to him, finally carried the city by assault. A similar siege at Gaza was successful; the way was open to Egypt, which he occupied without a battle.

The Jews.

260. While on the way down the coast, as the story is told by Josephus the Jewish historian, he visited Jerusalem. After the overthrow of their kingdom and their exile to Babylon (§ 80), the Jews had been permitted by Cyrus to return and rebuild their city and temple (538 B.C.) Since that time they had been under Persian rule and had devoted themselves to the upbuilding of their religious system under the leadership of their High-Priests. They



FROM THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, BY PERMISSION OF DODD, MEAD & CO.

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS: MOSAIC FROM POMPEII

had suffered much from their neighbors, the Samaritans, but were faithful to the law of Moses as their teachers enlarged and explained it. As Alexander advanced to the city, the high-priest with his attendants came forth to meet him. The king, who was at first inclined to be angry with the Jews for not taking his side, was led by a vision which he had seen some time before to give them special favors.

261. In Egypt Alexander's chief work was the founding of a city at the western mouth of the Nile, between the



Mareotic lake and the island of Pharos. Joining the island with the mainland by a causeway, he made two fine harbors for the city, which he named after himself and destined to take the place of ruined Tyre as the commercial centre of the western Mediterranean. This destiny was fulfilled, for Alexandria became one of the most important cities of the ancient world.

Founding of Alexandria.

262. A visit to the temple of Zeus Amon in the western desert, where the god declared him his own son and therefore rightful heir to the Egyptian throne (§ 21), was followed by the organization of the government of Egypt. By the spring of 331 B.C. Alexander started for the far east. In September he found the Persian king awaiting him with a vast army, east of the Tigris, near the old Assyrian city of Arbela (§ 68). This city, or the nearer village of Gaugamela, has given the name to the battle which was joined on the first of October. Over against the Macedonian's 40,000 foot and 7,000 horse were said to be arrayed a million foot and 40,000 horse under the command of the Great King—a motley host mighty only by sheer weight and momentum. Alexander's tactics were directed to the breaking up of this tremendous mass and the routing of the enemy's centre, where Darius had taken his stand. A cavalry charge led by Alexander himself was the decisive stroke, and by nightfall the Persians were in flight. The king escaped into the eastern mountains, but his empire over the Mesopotamian valley was utterly lost. Alexander never had to fight another great battle against the Persians. He marched southward to Babylon, which opened its gates without a struggle, then eastward into Elam and the old Persian land (§ 83), where he captured the cities of Susa and Persepolis—capitals and treasure-cities of the Persian king. One hundred and twenty thousand talents were said to have been obtained from the latter city.

263. In 330 B.C. the conqueror marched northward into Media in pursuit of Darius. He arrived at Ecbatana, the old Median capital, only to find that the Persian had fled eastward. Alexander was now at the parting of the

To the
East.

Arbela.

Capture
of the
Persian
Capitals.

Pursuit of
Darius.

ways. He had taken vengeance for the Persian invasion of Greece. He had torn from the Persian king the fairest of his dominions—the richest, most famous and cultured districts of the Oriental world. To the east lay the unknown regions, deserts and mountains, whence the Medes and Persians had come to conquer the world. Why should he advance farther? Only because a new purpose had taken shape in his mind—that he would be not only king of Macedonia and captain-general of the Greeks, but also lord of the Persian Empire. To unite the west and the east under his own sway was now his ambition. Hence, at Ecbatana, he dismissed those of the Greeks in his army who desired to return home and loaded them with presents. Some of them, on his invitation, remained and re-enlisted as his own soldiers. With an army which no longer represented the Greek states, but obeyed him alone, he advanced to the conquest of the far east.

The New
Problem
and its
Solution.

264. Darius, meanwhile, had fallen into the power of his satraps, who were hurrying him eastward, where he might make a new and final struggle against the conqueror. Alexander put forth every effort to capture him, followed on his track day and night with his best soldiers, only at last to come upon him dead, killed by his own people. What remained was to make a systematic campaign against the eastern provinces. It required three years (330–327 B.C.) of strenuous, heart-breaking warfare among deserts, through wintry tempests, over lofty mountains. At last the work was fairly done and he was Persian Emperor in very fact, lord of the last foot of ground that had once acknowledged the authority of the Achemenidæ.

Death of
Darius.

Conquest
of the
Far East.

265. Alexander's purpose to be ruler of Persia did not mean to substitute Greek ideas and customs, or Greek

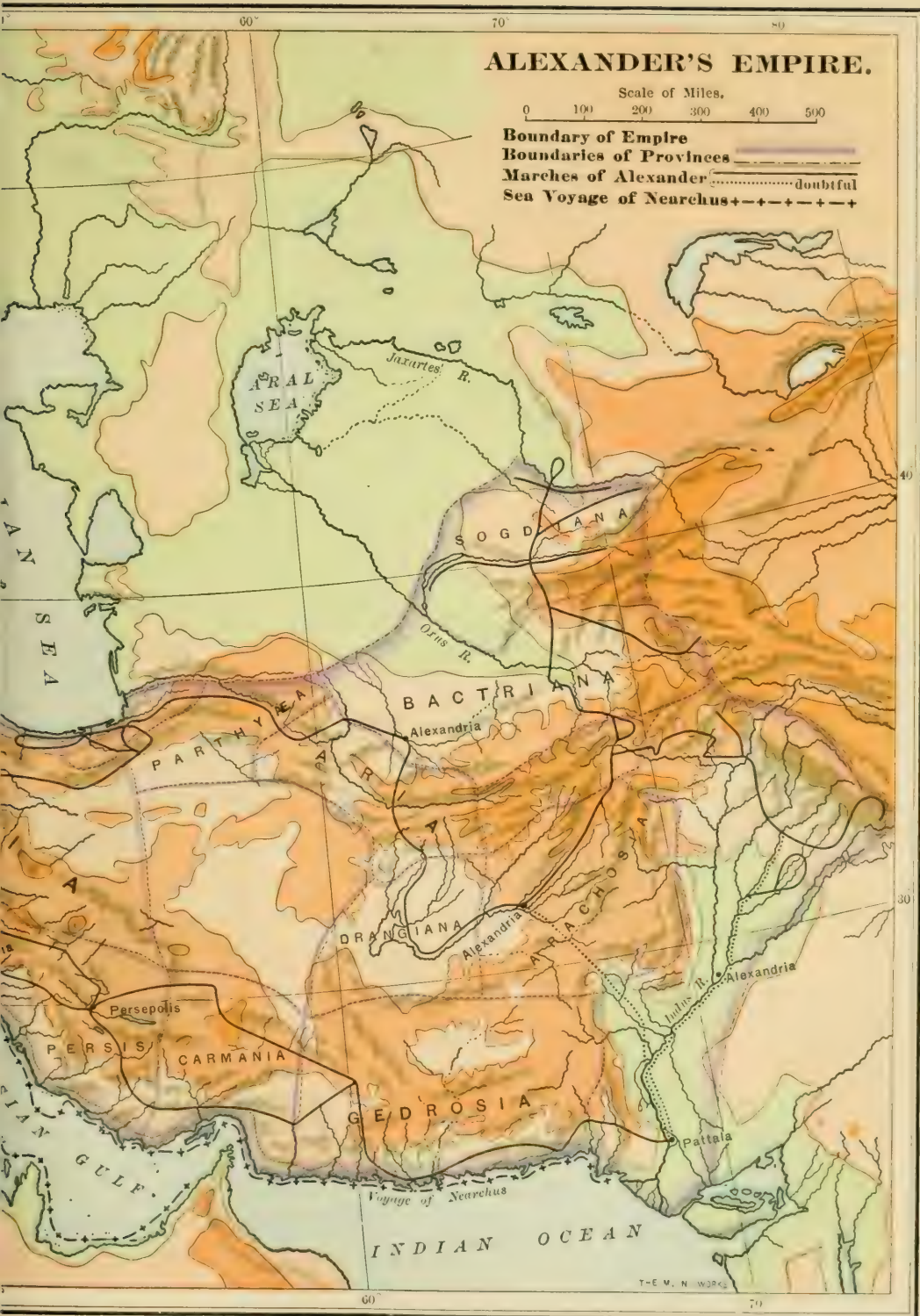
Alexander's Plan to Unite Greeks and Persians. officials, for those of Persia, but rather to unite the two peoples in a common life. He placed Persians in charge of the civil affairs of the provinces, while he reserved the military authority to the Macedonians. He began himself to assume something of the gorgeous state of a Persian Emperor; he surrounded himself with the splendors of an Oriental court. He married Roxana, the beautiful daughter of a chieftain of the far east. He settled his veterans in cities which he planted in these regions and gave them Orientals as fellow-citizens. All this could not be pushed through without rousing the anger of those bold and loyal Macedonians who had followed him through all perils as their national leader and who disdained the Orientals whom they had conquered. Discontent grew into secret plotting or open opposition on the part of Alexander's captains and counsellors. He stamped it out with merciless rigor. Parmenio was put to death along with his son Philotas, who was discovered in a conspiracy. When Clitus, Alexander's foster-brother, at a drinking-bout boldly expressed the unspoken dissatisfaction, he ran him through with a spear. Callisthenes, the philosopher and historian, refused to do obeisance in the Oriental manner to his Macedonian lord, and not long after was punished with death. Such disturbances, with their bloody vengeance, speak loudly of the tremendous changes which were coming over the face of the world and not less over the character and position of Alexander himself. The horizon was spreading out too wide and the problem was becoming too complicated for any but Alexander to grasp, and he ran the danger of losing his own soul in the struggle.

The Opposition.

Its Punishment.

266. One more step remained for him to take. Greece and the Persian Empire were not sufficient for his am-





ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE.

Scale of Miles,

0 100 200 300 400 500

Boundary of Empire
Boundaries of Provinces
Marches of Alexander
Sea Voyage of Nearchus

ARAL
SEA

Jaxartes R.

Oxus R.

BACTRIANA

Alexandria

PARTHYA

DRANGIANA

Alexandria

Indus R. Alexandria

Persepolis

PERSIS

CARMANIA

GEDROSIA

Pattala

Voyage of Nearchus

INDIAN OCEAN

T-E V. N. 3036

bition. He aspired to be conqueror of the world. In 327 B.C. he crossed the mountains into India, whither the Persians had already gone before him (§ 90). He overran the valley of the river Indus, won a victory from the Indian king Porus, and would have marched eastward to the river Ganges had not his army refused to follow him into these unknown and distant regions. Returning, he moved down the Indus to its mouth, and made a voyage into the Indian ocean. He took his army up the coast in a march of terrible difficulty, ordered his fleet to follow by sea, and reached Susa early in 324 B.C.

Campaign
in India.

267. Hardly had he returned from his Indian campaign when he plunged into the task of organizing his Empire on the lines which he had planned. The union of Macedonians and Persians was encouraged by his taking as another wife the daughter of Darius, and inducing his nobles likewise to marry Persian women. Others of his officers and soldiers who made such marriages were richly rewarded. The army was also recruited from Persians; a large number of their young men were trained in Macedonian tactics and in the use of Greek weapons. Their best horsemen were drafted into the cavalry; some were even enrolled in the crack Macedonian regiments. The hostility to these measures was pretty well broken down. It flamed out for the last time at Opis, when the king proposed to send ten thousand worn-out Macedonian veterans home to their native land. Thereupon the whole army cried out to be sent home rather than be levelled down to the Persians. But the uproar was soon quieted. They were too much attached to their leader to stand out against his will.

Develop-
ment of
Imperial
Ideas.

268. Alexander went to Babylon in 323 B.C. and was

Alexander
at Babylon.

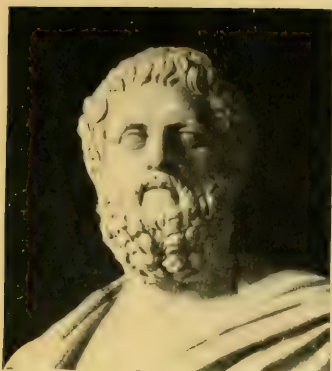
met by embassies from Carthage, the Phœnician colonies in Spain, the states of Italy, from the Ethiopians and Libyans, from the outlying peoples of the north, all of whom, it seems, expected sooner or later the advent of the conqueror upon their borders. He himself was planning an expedition to the coast of Arabia, with the design of developing trade routes from India and Babylonia to Egypt and the Mediterranean. But, after a night of feasting and drinking, he was taken ill. The fever increased, and on the thirteenth of June, 323 B.C., he passed away in the thirty-third year of his age.

His Death.

Alexander
Supreme
among
Greek
Heroes.

269. Alexander is the flower of the Greek race, the supreme figure in its gallery of heroes. In physical strength and beauty, in mental grasp and poise, in moral purpose and mastery, he was pre-eminent among the men of his time. Of high, almost sentimental, ideals of honor, a warm-hearted, genial companion and friend, the idol of his troops, fearless even to recklessness in the day of battle, he knew how to work tirelessly, to hold purposes with an iron resolution, to sweep all opposition from his path, and to deny himself pitilessly for the fulfilment of his plans. To reach so high a station, to stand alone at the summit of human achievement, was for so young a man almost fatally dangerous. Alexander did not escape unharmed. Power made him sometimes arbitrary and cruel. Opposition drove him to crimes which are without excuse. Yet in an age of license he was chaste; though given to Macedonian habits of deep drinking, he was no drunkard. In thirteen years of incessant activity he mastered the world and set it going in new paths. While accomplishing this task he made his name immortal.

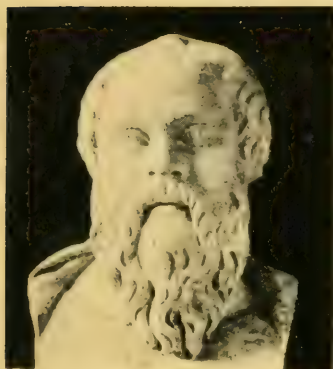
270. The greatness of Alexander as a general is clearly



Sophocles



Pericles



Socrates



The Aphrodite of Melos



Alexander



An Alexandrian Greek

TYPICAL GREEK HEADS

revealed in the full accounts of the battles he fought and the campaigns he carried through to success. He was the mightiest conqueror the world had ever seen. But it has been reserved for modern scholars to emphasize the most splendid and enduring elements of his career: his genius for organization, his statesmanship, his far-reaching plans of government and administration. Like all his great predecessors in the field of arms, he was no mere fighter for the sake of fighting, nor did the lust of acquisition spur him on to useless and empty conquests. The crowning and decisive proof of this is seen in the cities which he founded. No conquest was complete until he had selected sites for new settlements, and these sites were chosen with an unerring insight into the opportunities for trade as well as for defence. Sixteen Alexandrias all over the East go back to him as founder, the greatest of which was the Egyptian metropolis (§ 261). It is said that he founded in all some seventy cities. Many of them were so wisely planted that they exist to this day as flourishing centres of commercial life. They were organized on Greek models and reflected Greek civilization.

His
Military
Genius.

His States-
manship.

Founding
of Cities.

271. The supreme achievement of Alexander was the Empire and the ideas it represented. Its extent was the widest that the world had seen. The scheme of administration, although not known in detail, appears to have been singularly adapted to bind all parts together in subordination to the central authority. One vital feature of it was the division of the provincial government into three parts, financial, military, civil; each one of these was assigned to a separate official; all were of the same rank and were responsible to the king alone. The ideal of a world-state was more fully realized than ever before. From this

Alexander's
Empire.

Unified.

World-
wide.

Filled with
the Greek
Spirit.

Centred
in Alex-
ander.

It Involved
the Loss of
Greek
Freedom.

point of view the importance of the oceans and seas surrounding his world was emphasized by the king, who by his explorations greatly extended the geographic knowledge of antiquity. He paid particular attention to the commercial unity of his Empire and the development of trade between its various parts. The populations of the Empire were brought together in an extraordinary fashion. Greek culture especially was introduced throughout the Orient, whereby all life was raised to a higher plane. Likewise the Greek idea of government, as intended to secure justice and seek the best interests of the citizen, characterized this Empire and made it distinctly higher than those that had gone before. Above all, it was unique and superior to its predecessors because it was Alexander's Empire—it centred in a splendid personality. How different was the case in Oriental empires (§ 91)! Now for the first time the Greek idea of the individual and his importance in the world (§ 120) took its seat in his person upon the throne. It is no chance that so many sayings of his are preserved; that so many legends have gathered about his name. The Empire was his creation and was held together in him. His portrait appears upon its coins; worship was offered to him as to a god, the symbol of universal authority.

272. We must not forget at what a cost this advance was made. The petty world of Greece with its quarrels of little states passed away. Its immortal achievements in politics, art and literature were made the possession of east and west. But the political freedom of Greece was lost. The great new world had its life and its law from the lips of one lord; it depended on his will and bowed before him. More men were better governed, had greater

prosperity and higher culture. The price paid for it all was the disappearance from the Græco-Oriental world of the free state in which the citizen made and kept the laws, and was at the same time ruler and ruled.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion. 2. The First Attempts at Empire.

3. THE EMPIRES OF ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

(1) Alexander's Empire: Alexander King of Macedonia (preparation, relation to Greece, attitude toward Persia)—his advance against Persia (condition of Persia, battles in Asia Minor, march southward to Egypt, eastward, Arbela and after)—the new problem and its solution (death of Darius, far eastern campaigns, Macedonian opposition put down, Alexander Emperor of the world, India)—imperial ideas and manners—death—estimate as man, general and statesman—what it meant to Greece.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following famous: Granicus, Issus, Arbela, Tyre, Alexandria, Persepolis, Indus? 2. What is meant by Achemenidæ, High-Priest, phalanx? 3. What is the date of the founding of Alexandria, of the death of Alexander?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare Alexander with Alcibiades. 2. Compare the Empire of Alexander with that of Assyria, or Persia; with the Athenian Empire. 3. "No single personality, excepting the carpenter's son of Nazareth, has done so much to make the world we live in what it is as Alexander of Macedon."—Can you justify this assertion?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. Alexander's Campaigns. Bury, pp. 747-821; Zimmern, ch. 21; Shuckburgh, ch. 20; Mahaffy, Alexander's Empire, pp. 12-42; Morey, pp. 309-314. 2. Alexander's Empire. Mahaffy, pp. 1-3; Bury, pp. 785-786, 793-794, 815-816; West, pp. 219-224; Morey, pp. 322-323. 3. Alexander. Plutarch, Life of Alexander; Morey, pp. 314-316, 320; Bury, pp. 821-822.

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(2) THE
SUCCES-
SORS OF
ALEX-
ANDER.

Attitude of
His
Generals.

Their
Rivalry.

273. A more immediately serious defect of this personal rule of Alexander was that his Empire seemed likely to collapse at his death. He left no heir, though shortly after his death his wife Roxana bore a son, called, after his father, Alexander. The Macedonian nobles who had served under their great captain were the natural upholders of his Empire and the guardians of the heir to the throne. At first they sought loyally to fulfil this task. Alexander's most trusted lieutenant, Perdikkas, was made head of the government and protector of the imperial system, until the youthful Alexander came of age; he associated with himself the other generals. Seleucus received an important military post. Others were appointed governors of provinces—to Ptolemy * was assigned Egypt, to Antigonos, Phrygia, to Lysimachus, Thrace, to Eumenes, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, while Antipater (§ 255) was left in charge of Macedonia. Antipater's son, Cassander, was also given a military command. A dangerous breach in Alexander's system was made in allowing the provincial governors to keep companies of soldiers under their own control.

274. It soon appeared, however, that personal rivalries among these leaders would not permit them to live in peace with one another and be faithful to their trust. Hardly had the new arrangement gone into effect when quarrels broke out among them. They combined against each other in constantly varying groups, and the resulting wars brought the majority of them to their end. The ideal which tempted each of them was the recovery of the unity of the Empire under his own leadership, but the outcome of the unceasing battles and intrigues was its dissolution.

* Pronounced *tolemy*.

Perdiccas was soon slain by his own soldiers while endeavoring to maintain control over the governors. Then Antipater, Eumenes, Antigonos, Cassander and Lysimachus in succession passed off the scene.* Roxana and the young Alexander had been put to death. The Empire became the prey of the strongest. In fact, it ceased to exist any longer except as an ideal; the Macedonian leaders had already begun to call themselves kings of the various divisions over which they ruled. Thus Cassander had been King of Macedonia. Seleucus became King of Syria and the east. Ptolemy assumed royal power in Egypt. Henceforth the history of the Empire of Alexander gathered about the history of these three separate kingdoms.

Breaking
Up of the
Empire.

The Three
Kingdoms.

275. This dreary period of the breaking up of the Empire and the formation of these kingdoms out of its fragments lasted more than forty years. Its close may be dated at the death of Seleucus (280 B.C.), the last of those Macedonian nobles who surrounded Alexander and helped him to create the Empire which after his death they had destroyed.

The Era
of Struggle.

276. During Alexander's career of world-conquest the political importance of the old Greek states was insignificant. All except Sparta had formally accepted Macedonian headship. Alexander had done his utmost to show them honor and grant them freedom to manage their own affairs. Athens, especially, had profited by this favor, and under the leadership of Phocion had loyally kept the peace. Not only did her material prosperity increase, but her intellectual influence became more

Greece in
Alexander's
Empire.

Prosperity
of Athens.

Aristotle.

* One decisive battle of the time was that of Ipsus, 301 B.C., in which the attempt of Antigonos to become master of the Empire was defeated and he himself was killed.

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Compared
with
Plato.

Student of
Facts.

His
Writings.

His
Breadth
and Nar-
rowness.

splendid. Aristotle, the tutor of Alexander, had come to Athens upon his pupil's accession to the throne, and from 334 B.C. to 323 B.C. he taught philosophy in the Lyceum in that city. He had been a pupil of Plato (§ 239), but in his temperament, his method, and his conclusions he departed widely from his master. Plato was a poet, full of imagination, aiming after lofty ideals which he saw by a kind of inspired vision. Aristotle was a cool and cautious thinker, seeking the meaning of the world by a study of things about him, not satisfied until he brought everything to the test of observation. Thus he investigated the laws which governed the arts of rhetoric and poetry; he collected the constitutions of many Greek states and drew from them some general principles of politics; he studied animals and plants to know their structure; he examined into the acts and ways of men to determine the essence of their right- and wrong-doing. He set his students to this kind of study and used the results of their work. Thus a new method of investigation was created and new light thrown on all sides of life. A most learned man, he had a passion for truth and reason; one of his most famous sayings is "Plato and truth are both dear to me, but it is a sacred duty to prefer truth." His works, especially his *Politics*, *Ethics*, and *Poetics*, have had vast power in guiding the thinking of men since his day. His style is usually dry and difficult, though his *Constitution of Athens*, discovered in an Egyptian papyrus in 1890, is more readable. His interest in universal knowledge was in harmony with the wider world-view opened by the conquests of Alexander; in this respect he is a true son of his times. His political ideas, however, are narrow and show that even he did not fully grasp the significance of his great

pupil's achievement. His ideal state consists of not more than twenty thousand citizens, none of whom engage in commerce and trade. He regarded the Orientals as an inferior people, fit only for slavery.

277. The Greeks were not satisfied with their political inferiority, even though it was compensated for by peace and the recognition of their intellectual leadership. The news of Alexander's death was the signal for rebellion. Athens led the struggle for freedom against Antipater (§ 273), and was joined by other Greek states. At first fortune favored them. Antipater was shut up in Lamia (from this city the war was called the Lamian War). But he succeeded in escaping and defeated the Greeks in a battle at Crannon (322 B.C.); the collapse of their confederacy followed. In the punishment that was meted out, Athens suffered most. Her constitution was changed by depriving the poorer citizens of the franchise; a Macedonian garrison was placed in the harbor of Munychia; the leaders of the rebellion were put to death. It was at this time that Demosthenes cheated his executioners by taking poison (322 B.C.). Similar severe measures followed against the other states. Never before had Macedonian power so brutally emphasized its lordship over Greece. Only the Ætolians in their mountain-valleys escaped punishment, because Antipater was compelled to turn his attention to the east.

Revolt
from
Macedonia.

Lamian
War.

278. It would have been better for Greece, if, in the struggles for empire that followed, she had sunk into entire insignificance. But this was not possible. Her strategic position in the Mediterranean, her commercial importance, her value as a recruiting ground for mercenaries, the fascination of her intellectual superiority and the splendor of

Greece in
the Wars of
Alexander's
Generals.

her civilization, drew every one of the successors of Alexander with magnetic power to her shores. Her land became the battle-ground, the prize for which all were contending. Everything was done to win her cities; they were courted by all parties; gifts were made to them; freedom was promised them. Thus they were continually thrown into confusion, and the promises made them were soon seen to be merely means for this or that conqueror to rule them. Party strife raged without any hopeful outlook; the real power was in the hands of the kings, who alternately cajoled and threatened them.

The New
Elements
in the
Situation.

279. Three new things, however, appear out of this confusion. (1) New nationalities rise to play their part in Greek life; (2) The spirit of freedom is roused to new energy; (3) This spirit is embodied in a new form of political life—many cities and districts unite in Leagues to defend and maintain their freedom.

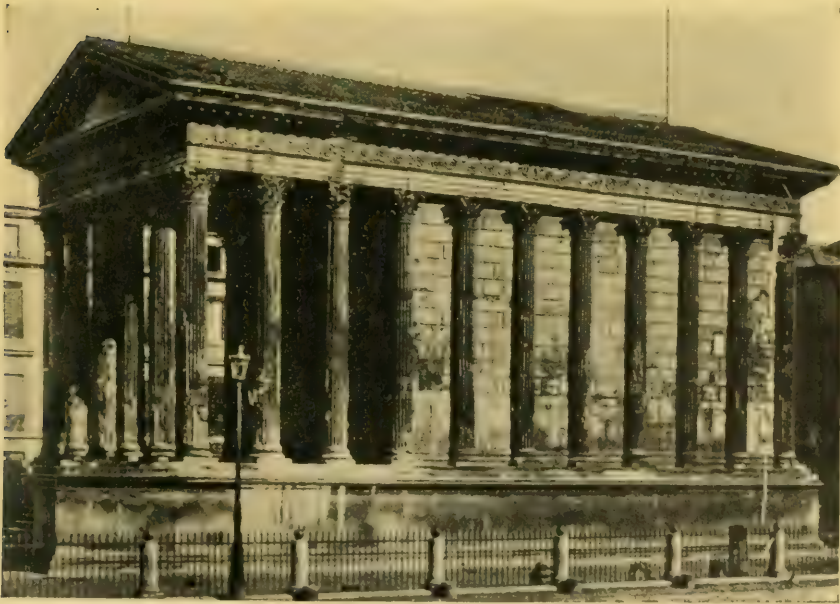
The New
Nationalities.

280. Of these new nationalities the most important were the Achæans, the Ætolians and the people of Epirus. The Achæans lived in cities on the southern coast of the Corinthian gulf; the Ætolians and Epirotes in northwestern Greece. None of them had taken any real part in Greek politics in the preceding centuries. The Achæans and Ætolians organized as leagues. The league of the former consisted of ten cities; that of the latter was made up of districts. A national assembly, consisting of all the citizens, met once or twice a year to deliberate on common interests and to elect officers. The chief officer was called the General. He had large powers and managed affairs, assisted by other officials. Every city or district remained a distinct state in charge of its own local affairs, but the relations to outside powers, the making of war or peace,

The Æto-
lian and
Achæan
Leagues.



The Greek Temple at Pæstum



A Roman Temple in Gaul

CLASSICAL TEMPLES

were determined by the national assembly. A senate prepared business for the assembly. These leagues threw themselves vigorously into Greek politics; they became the centres of Greek defence against outside interference; they were the last bulwark of Greek freedom. Another league of a somewhat different type was that organized about the island of Rhodes. Its purpose was to protect Greek commerce. The first code of maritime law was issued by this confederacy and became the standard for all later time.

League of
Rhodes.

281. The events of the last half century (350–300 B.C.), especially the rise of the neighboring country of Macedonia, had brought Epirus into the sphere of Greek life and stimulated its kings to play a part in politics. These kings claimed descent from Achilles, of Trojan fame, who was worshipped with divine honors. Their ambitions came to a head in King Pyrrhus (295–273 B.C.), a resolute, vigorous but unstable ruler, whose military skill and daring won for him from his people the title of “the Eagle of Epirus.” At first he threw himself into the conflicts which gathered about the possession of Macedonia after Alexander’s death, and at one time he was practically its ruler. Then he turned himself to the west and crossed the Adriatic to gain renown and lands in Italy and Sicily as the representative and defender of the western Greeks. (280 B.C.).

Rise of
Epirus.

King
Pyrrhus.

282. In Sicily the troubles that followed the death of the elder Dionysius (§ 222) were brought to an end by a general, sent to Syracuse from Corinth, named Timoleon, who overthrew the tyrants, beat back the Carthaginians and restored order and prosperity (345–337 B.C.). After his death, strife was renewed, out of which emerged a new

The Fort-
unes of
Sicily.

Agathocles.

leader, Agathocles, who became master of Syracuse in 316 B.C. After a long and fierce war with Carthage, which again sought to overpower the Sicilian Greeks, he came off victorious in 305 B.C. Then he took the title of king and ruled Sicily with vigor and success until his death in 289 B.C. Violent in his treatment of his enemies, and not shrinking from the use of any means to establish his power, the king maintained the Greek supremacy in Sicily before the aggressive Carthaginian might, and stands among the most potent personalities of his time. Ptolemy of Egypt (§ 274) gave him his daughter in marriage, and his own daughter was married to Pyrrhus of Epirus. After his death his empire fell to pieces, and Greek tyrants in the various cities as well as the Carthaginian invader again appeared on the scene.

Greater
Greece
and its
Problems.

283. As Greek Sicily was threatened by Carthage, so the Greek cities of eastern Italy were in constant danger from the native peoples among whom they were planted. Rich and prosperous as they were, they could not unite in their own defence, and hence separate cities were compelled from time to time to seek help from abroad. One of these cities, Tarentum, the greatest and wealthiest of them all at this time, was threatened by the Romans (§ 191) who, victorious over enemies round about them, had extended their sway far into southeastern Italy. To ward off this danger, the Tarentines invited Pyrrhus to come to their aid. He accepted their invitation, for it opened to him new scenes of adventure and new opportunities for power. In the spring of 280 B.C. he appeared in Italy with an army of twenty thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, two thousand bowmen, five hundred slingers and twenty elephants. At first he carried all before him in Italy and

Pyrrhus
in Italy.

Sicily, but, as time wore on, his ambitious and ruthless temper alienated his friends; the unfavorable outcome of a battle with the Romans at Beneventum (275 B.C.), together with the news of difficulties in Greece, led him to return thither the same year. Not long after, during a campaign in the Peloponnesus, he met his death in an attack upon Argos (273 B.C.).

Defeated
by the
Romans.

284. The year 280 B.C. marks not merely the passing of the generation of Alexander (§ 273), but a sudden and terrific disturbance in the Greek world about the Ægean sea. This was caused by the violent descent upon its northern borders of the Kelts, or Galati, a strange, rude, vigorous and warlike people who had for a century been pouring into the upper Balkan peninsula. Down they came into the very heart of Greece. Only the vigorous efforts of the states of Middle Greece led by the Ætolian League halted them near Delphi and drove them back. Their hordes also swept over Thrace, crossed the Hellespont and entered Asia Minor. There they established themselves in the centre of the land and formed a new state, called Galatia. It lay right across the direct road from the east to the west and was a permanent hindrance to the reunion of the separated parts of the Empire.

Greece
Invaded by
the Kelts.

Galatia.

285. The splitting up of the Empire was most complete in Asia Minor, where, besides the Galatian state, there were half a dozen separate kingdoms and a number of free cities. The chief kingdom was that which had its seat in the city of Pergamum, whose kings, Eumenes I (263-241 B.C.) and Attalus I (241-197 B.C.), extended its boundaries and brought it to high prosperity. It was a home of art. Here was produced the well-known "Dying Gladiator," which is more properly called the

Kingdoms
of Asia
Minor.

Pergamum.

Its Art.

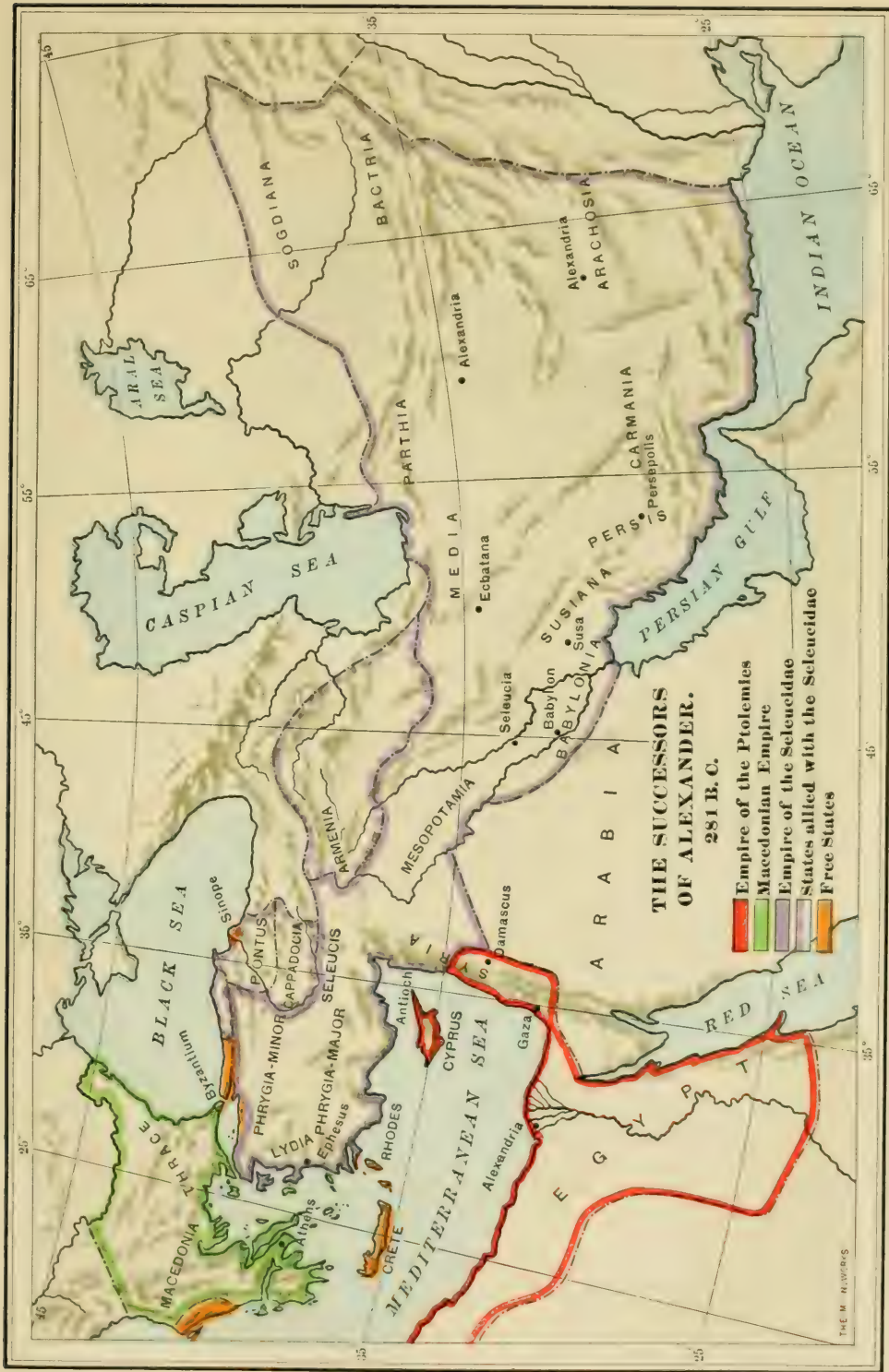
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"Dying Gaul," as it was wrought to commemorate the victory of Attalus over the Kelts, or Gauls. The grand altar of Pergamum was decorated with a splendid frieze representing the struggle of the gods and the giants. Full of vigor and vitality, it is inferior to the work of the classic age only in the lack of simplicity and grace. In the free city of Rhodes was produced during this age the famous group of "Laocoön and his Sons," the beauty and power of which is marred by the too violent expression of physical suffering.

Pontus. **286.** Another important kingdom was that of Pontus in northeastern Asia Minor, which, under its king, Mithridates II, made wide conquests in that region. The

Free Cities. free cities were situated for the most part on the sea-coasts and united in leagues or put themselves under the protection of larger states for the maintenance of their independence. Such were Byzantium, Lampsacus, Smyrna, Chios and Rhodes.

The Kingdom of Syria. **287.** The kingdom which Seleucus founded in the East (§ 274) dates from 312 B.C., the so-called Era of Seleucus, and became the greatest of those carved out of Alexander's Empire. It extended from India to the eastern Mediterranean and from the Indus to the northern mountains. The capital was placed at Antioch, in Syria, on the Orontes river. This fact shows that its kings were more interested in the west than in the east. It was called the Kingdom of Syria. Seleucus was followed by his son, Antiochus I (281-261 B.C.), and he by other kings of his family called, respectively, by the names Antiochus or Seleucus. All adopted most consistently the policy of Alexander in founding cities on the Greek model. Seleucus I is said to be responsible for seventy-five such cities. By them



Greek ideas and life were persistently diffused throughout the kingdom.

288. In this state a new idea of Kingship was set forth, which found its basis in the personal qualities of the ruler and his service to the state, rather than in his hereditary right or in his being chosen by the gods for Kingship. The idea was encouraged by theories of religion represented by the philosopher Euhemerus, who held that the gods were only men deified for their heroic and useful deeds. Hence the kings of this age did not hesitate to claim and receive divine honors for themselves. They were worshipped as gods.

The Syrian
Idea of
Kingship.

289. The kings of Syria had great difficulty in maintaining their authority in the far east. There two provinces soon grew into independent states. These were Bactria and Parthia. In the latter, the first great king was Arsaces, who took the throne in 250 B.C. Even before this time the provinces of India had been lost to Syria.

Loss of the
Far East.

Parthia.

290. In the west, Syria was constantly at war with the second great kingdom of Alexander's Empire founded by Ptolemy in Egypt (§ 274). Each of his successors was also named Ptolemy, and the state is, therefore, often called the Empire of the Ptolemies. Its capital was at Alexandria (§ 261). The rule of the early Ptolemies showed considerable statesmanship and resulted in remarkable prosperity. The natives were left undisturbed in their old religion and local customs, the kings only requiring from them unbounded quantities of grain. The real interest of the kings was in commerce. Alexandria was made the centre of an extensive trade between east and west. From Arabia and India the goods were brought over the Red sea and

The King-
dom of
Egypt.

The
Ptolemies.

Commer-
cial Devel-
opment.

Wars with
Syria.

through the ship-canal connecting it with the Nile to the capital; thence they were shipped to all the western ports. This commerce required the Ptolemies to control the sea and they sought to possess the important trading centres on the Mediterranean. In the east this brought them into conflict with Syria for the possession of Palestine and Phœnicia. During the most of this century they were able to hold these lands. Likewise they were prominent in the Ægean sea. They held Cyprus and were in league with many of the free cities of Asia Minor and Greece. Thus they possessed a veritable Empire.

Culture
under the
Ptolemies.

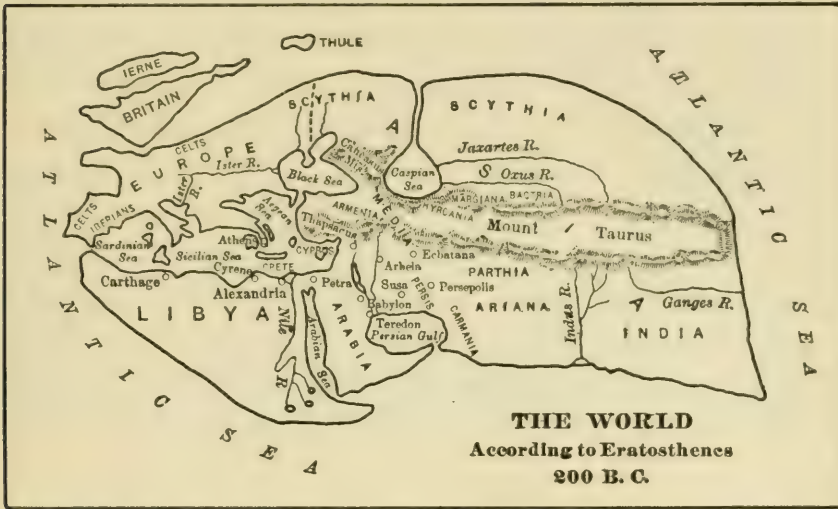
Alexandria
its Centre.

The
Museum.

Pastoral
Poetry.

291. Such a commercial state, so closely associated with the larger Greek world, could not but afford opportunity for the growth of culture. Thus the kingdom of the Ptolemies developed a rare and brilliant literary and scientific life. It had its centre in Alexandria and was studiously encouraged by the kings. Here they founded the famous Museum, a group of buildings where a company of scholars were supported by the state and devoted themselves to literature and investigation. In the Museum was the library, containing 532,000 manuscripts collected from all the world. The Museum was not a university, but a home of scholars who occupied themselves with their own literary and scientific pursuits. Philology, mathematics and the study of nature and art chiefly engaged them. Poets praised the kings in courtly and finished verse, or imitated and collected the works of the great masters of the classic age. Yet a fresh and original form of poetry was produced by Theocritus, whose praise of pastoral life is expressed so naturally and exquisitely as to give him lasting fame. In his delicately wrought background of Sicilian country-life, with its fountains, shady

oaks, stalwart shepherds, graceful maidens, vineyards, woodland flowers and murmuring bees, he set his simple scenes of rustic love. In them the worldly and sated Alexandrians found intense delight and refreshment. Thus in the realm of poetry a new and rich field was dis-



covered—called the Pastoral. The Ptolemies also introduced Egyptian religion to the world in the goddess Isis and the god Serapis, whose worship, full of mystery and splendor, spread very widely.

Religion.

292. The third of the kingdoms, that of Macedonia, was beset by more obstinate difficulties than those which troubled the others. There was a longer fight about who should be king; it was finally settled by a descendant of Alexander's general, Antigonus (§ 273), Antigonus Gonatas, who ruled from about 280 B.C. and left the throne to his descendants. Another hindrance lay in the persistent opposition of the Greek cities to the overlordship of Macedonia. In this struggle the Achæan League (§ 280) ran a brilliant career. About 280 B.C. it came

The Kingdom of Macedonia

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Activity of
the
Achæan
League.

forward as the defender of freedom in the Peloponnesus. In a few years most of the leading cities, except Athens and Sparta, united with it. Under Aratus of Sicyon, who, from 245 B.C. onward, was chosen "general" sixteen times, it reached its highest point. Even Sparta under its heroic king, Cleomenes, was ready to join it. But Aratus opposed him and war ensued, in the course of which Aratus betrayed the league by calling in Macedonia. The outcome was the mastery of both Cleomenes and Aratus by the Macedonians. Cleomenes fled to Egypt, where he perished; Aratus, at first in high favor with Macedonia, was at last poisoned by the Macedonian king, Philip V, in 213 B.C. Even under the vigorous and patriotic Philopœmen the league continued in alliance with Macedonia and contributed little to the defence of Greek freedom. The Ætolian League was another flourishing bulwark of defence, but jealousies between the two leagues still further hindered their service. The other cities also were too jealous of their own rights to work heartily in accord with the leagues for their common freedom.

The
Ætolian
League.

Intellectual
Progress at
Athens.

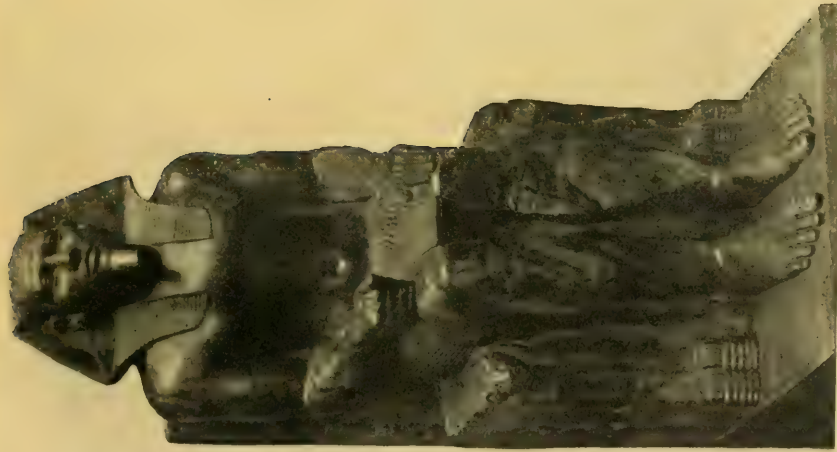
293. This political turmoil did not hinder the progress of art and literature for which Athens in the third century stood pre-eminent. That city became the real university of the world, whither students flocked to study philosophy.

Schools of
Philosophy.

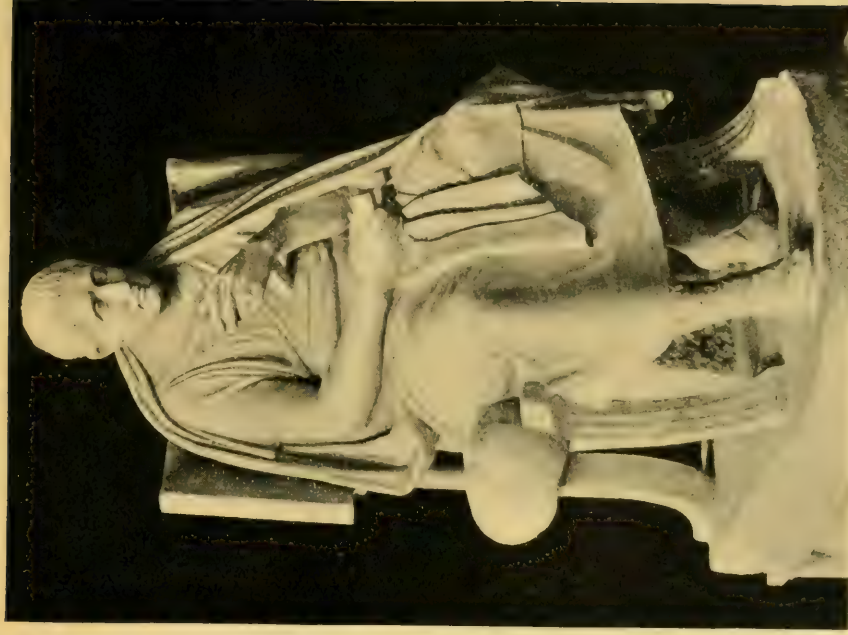
Two leading schools of thought divided their suffrages. The one was founded by Zeno (340-265 B.C.), who taught in the *Stoa poikile* or "Painted Porch," in the heart of the city, a way of life and thought which was called Stoicism.

The Stoic.

He held that, in the midst of the seeming confusion of things about us, there was a real order, governed by unchangeable laws; that the secret of life consists in seeing this order and obeying it. The chief word of this philoso-



Khafre, Pharaoh of Egypt



Posidippus the Athenian
TYPICAL SCULPTURED FIGURES

phy was "virtue," and he is the "wise man" who strives after it. Everything else is unimportant; even life itself is not worth living, if virtue cannot be realized. Virtue can be found in one's own soul, in that "reason" which is man's way of expressing the order of the universe. All men everywhere in whom "reason" or "virtue" rules are brothers. On the other hand, Epicurus (341-270 B.C.) taught that true virtue is found in "happiness," everything that contributes to make man happy should be sought, while all that is disturbing should be avoided. Hence, to him religion, which spoke of reward and punishment from the gods above, was harmful and should be abolished. This philosophy was called after its founder Epicureanism. Both systems are illustrations of the broad cosmopolitan spirit of the age, which recognized no bounds of city or race. They had a very wide influence in this age and in the centuries following. In Athens, also, the third century saw the birth of the New Comedy, which, unlike the political plays of Aristophanes (§ 200), took as its theme the affairs of everyday life and handled them in a spirited, keen, sympathetic and delightful way. The shady side of contemporary manners was usually shown up, but in a fashion to ridicule vice and applaud virtue. Its chief representative was Menander (342-292 B.C.), only fragments of whose plays have been preserved. So sure was his touch and so true to reality that the ancients said of him: "Menander and Life, which of you is the imitator of the other?"

The Epicurean.

The New Comedy.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW*

II. THE GREEK EMPIRES

1. The Beginnings of Greece and its Expansion. 2. The First Attempts at Empire.
3. THE EMPIRES OF ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS.
 - (1) Alexander's Empire. (2) The Successors of Alexander: Who shall succeed Alexander? (his heir, his generals, their rivalry, empire breaks up in conflict)—Greece in Alexander's empire (Athens, the intellectual centre, Aristotle and his new note, the revolt on Alexander's death, Crannon)—Greece under his successors a scene of struggle with a threefold outcome—Achæan and Ætolian leagues—Pyrrhus of Epirus—Sicily—Magna Græcia—Pyrrhus and Rome—the Keltic terror—kingdoms of Asia Minor (Pergamum and its art, Rhodes, Pontus)—kingdom of Syria (kings and kingship, wars)—kingdom of Ptolemies (commercial importance, intellectual life, museum, poetry, religion)—kingdom of Macedonia (difficulties, Achæan league, philosophy at Athens, new comedy)—summary of the age—the Roman shadow and its meaning.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. What events are connected with the names of Antipater, Seleucus, Pyrrhus, Aristotle, Antigonus Gonatas, Ptolemy, Philopœmen, Menander, Zeno, Agathocles? 2. For what are the following noted: Galatia, Pergamum, Rhodes, Epirus, Tarentum? 3. What is meant by the Museum, Epicureanism, pastoral poetry, the Dying Gaul, the painted porch? 4. What is the era of Seleucus? 5. The significance of the year 280 B.C.

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare Aristotle and Herodotus (§ 185) in respect to their views of history. 2. Compare the Leagues of this period with the Peloponnesian (§ 132) and the Delian (§§ 161-164) Leagues.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Struggles of Alexander's Generals. Mahaffy, pp. 43-75; Plutarch, Lives of Eumenes and Demetrius. 2. Greece under

* This Outline includes §§ 294-295, which should be studied in connection with it.

Alexander and His Successors. Bury, pp. 823-833; Shuckburgh, pp. 300-305. **3. The Kingdoms of Alexander's Successors.** Mahaffy, pp. 89-95, 111-141, 156-162; Morey, pp. 317-319. **4. Pergamum and the Artistic Life of the Time.** Morey, pp. 323-328; Tarbell, pp. 259-267. **5. Aristotle.** Bury, 833-835; Capps, ch. 16; Jebb, pp. 129-135; Murray, pp. 373-376. **6. The Moral Philosophers.** Mahaffy, ch. 11; Shuckburgh, pp. 306-307. **7. Alexandria and Egyptian Culture.** Mahaffy, pp. 120-131, 142-155; Capps, ch. 18; Botsford, pp. 320-322; Morey, pp. 330-332. **8. The Keltic Terror.** Mahaffy, ch. 8. **9. The Leagues of Greece.** Mahaffy, ch. 18; Botsford, pp. 323-325; Shuckburgh, pp. 311-324. **10. Pyrrhus of Epirus.** Plutarch, *Life of Pyrrhus*; Mahaffy, ch. 2.

294. We have come to the end of an epoch—the period of Alexander's Empire and the kingdoms that grew out of it (331-200 B.C.). The important things about it to remember are: (1) the remarkable career of the young Alexander who brought the world to his feet in little more than ten years; (2) the still more remarkable ideas which underlay his conquest—the supremacy of the Greek ideal in the world and the blending of the Greek and the Oriental in a new imperial organization and civilization; (3) the failure of his imperial organization at his death by the division of the Empire among his ambitious and self-seeking generals; (4) the great kingdoms that rose on the ruins; (5) the persistent presence of the imperial ideal which kept these kings fighting for the mastery; (6) the persistence of Greek freedom in the face of imperialism as illustrated in the leagues and free cities; (7) the slow but victorious advance of Alexander's ideal of a world of Græco-Oriental civilization; (8) the splendid progress of Greek thought and art, inspired by this broader horizon and richer life—with Athens and Alexandria as its representatives.

Summary
of the Age.

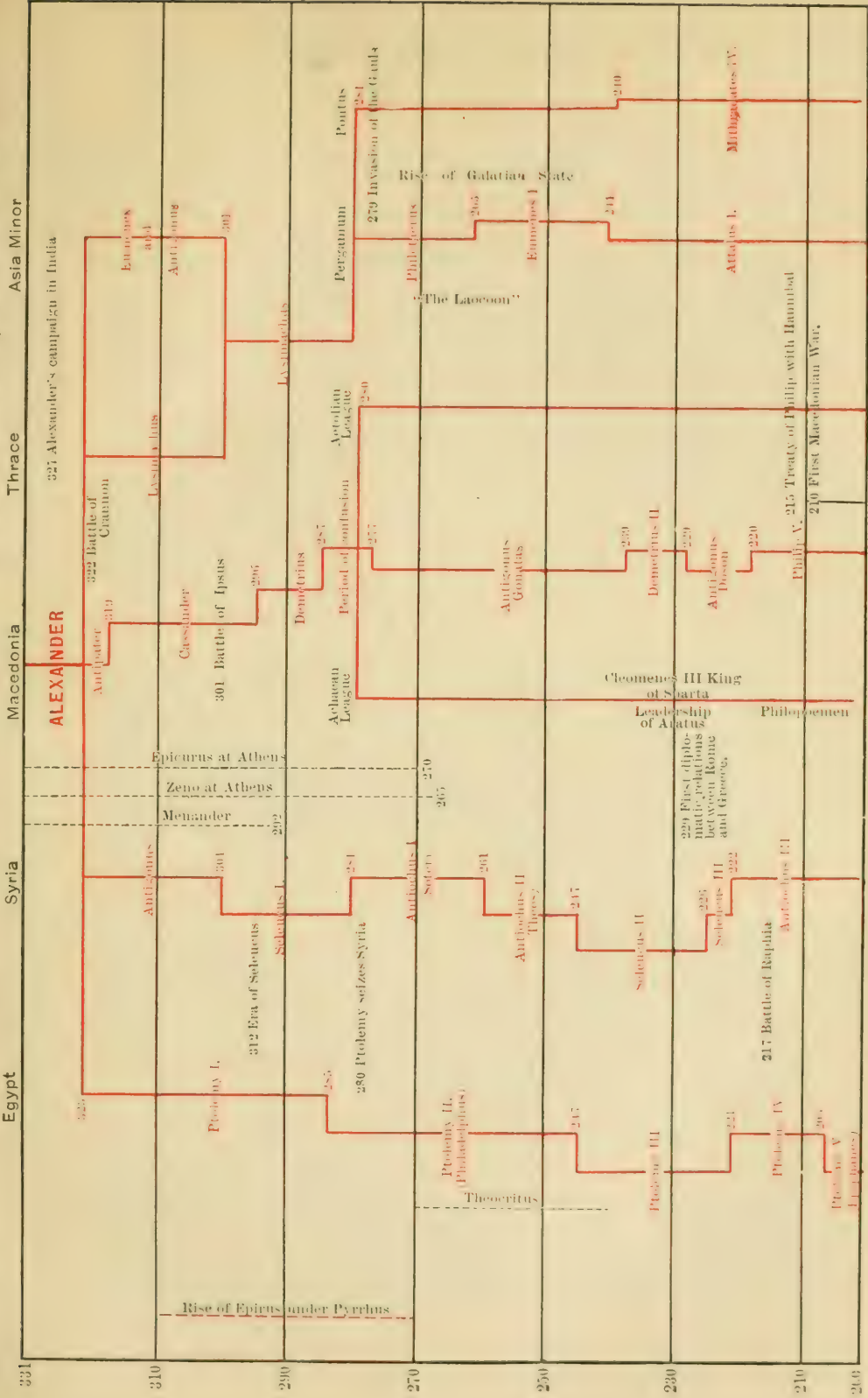
The
Shadow of
Rome.

295. Upon the western horizon of this Greek world, stretching from the Adriatic to the Indus, a shadow was slowly creeping up. The Italian city of Rome had been from time to time brought into touch with the Greeks and became more and more involved in their affairs. The western Greek cities lay on its border; its commerce in the western Mediterranean brought its ships to Sicily, and made the wars of Syracuse and Carthage its concern. Pyrrhus had represented the Greeks in a fruitless war against its legions. Its shadow was, however, little noticed, because it had imperceptibly shaded off into the Greek sky. We have seen how its laws were copied after Greece (§ 191). It had a treasury at Delphi. Its navy in 229 B.C. had punished the Illyrian pirates and seized their cities, thus making a part of the Greek peninsula Roman soil; but so signal a service to Greece had this been regarded that Greek cities sent their thanks to Rome for the exploit, and recognized these benefactors as of Greek lineage. A Ptolemy, in his will, made Rome the guardian of his son. Nor was it certain that the Roman shadow was not to be full of further blessing to this confused and warring Greek world. Many looked thither for relief from the rivalries, the treacheries, the cruelties of cultured but ruthless kings and tyrants. Whether it was for good or ill, the future was to determine. The last and fatal step was taken when, in the war between Rome and Carthage, Philip V of Macedonia, in 213 B.C., threw in his lot with the Carthaginians and declared war against Rome. With that the face of the world changes; Rome comes on the scene and takes the foremost place; the history of Alexander's Empire merges into the history of the greater Mediterranean world under the leadership of Rome.

Did it Mean
Good or Ill
for Greece?

The De-
cisive Step.

CHART OF THE TIME OF ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS, 331-200 B. C.



GENERAL REVIEW OF PART II, DIVISION 3; §§ 253-295

331-200 B.C.

TOPICS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION. 1. The main purpose moving the leaders of world-history from 331-200 B.C.: how far was the ideal realized in actual events? 2. A comparison as to origin, leaders, aims, problems and historical development of the three kingdoms rising out of Alexander's Empire. 3. Course of the history of Greece proper from 331-200 B.C. 4. The great epochs of contact between Persia and Greece from 500 B.C. to the fall of the Persian Empire. 5. The dates of not more than six of the most important events of this age, with reasons for so regarding them. 6. How Aristotle, Theocritus, Zeno and Menander represent their age and its spirit. 7. The various important epochs in the history of Sicily. 8. The history of King Pyrrhus of Epirus as illustrative of the age.

MAP AND PICTURE EXERCISES. 1. Draw a map of Alexander's Empire and place on it three cities founded by Alexander; explain the advantages of their location. 2. Compare the Laocoön (Plate IX) with the Hermes (Plate VIII). What are the differences—which is higher art—how does each represent the times in which it was produced? 3. Study the Greek Coins (Plate XV). Observe the development in them—what facts for Greek life and history in them—select the finest, with reasons for the selection.

TOPICS FOR WRITTEN PAPERS. 1. What Alexander's Empire Meant for World-History. 2. A Day in Alexandria, 250 B.C. Kingsley, Alexandria and Her Schools; Mahaffy, Alexander's Empire. 3. Alexander as a General. 4. A Visit to the Philosophical Schools of Athens in the Year 275 B.C. Capes, University Life in Ancient Athens. 5. Alexander's Cities. 6. A Sketch of Alexander's Campaign in India. 7. The Career of Philopœmen. Plutarch, Life of Philopœmen. 8. A Visit to Pergamum. Mahaffy, Greek Life and Thought, ch. 14. 9. A Study of the Constitution of the Achæan League. Mahaffy, Greek Life and Thought, ch. 16; Freeman, History of Federal Government, see index. 10. Write a series of notes, explaining the allusions to Greek history in Byron's "The Isles of Greece."

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

200 B.C.—A.D. 800

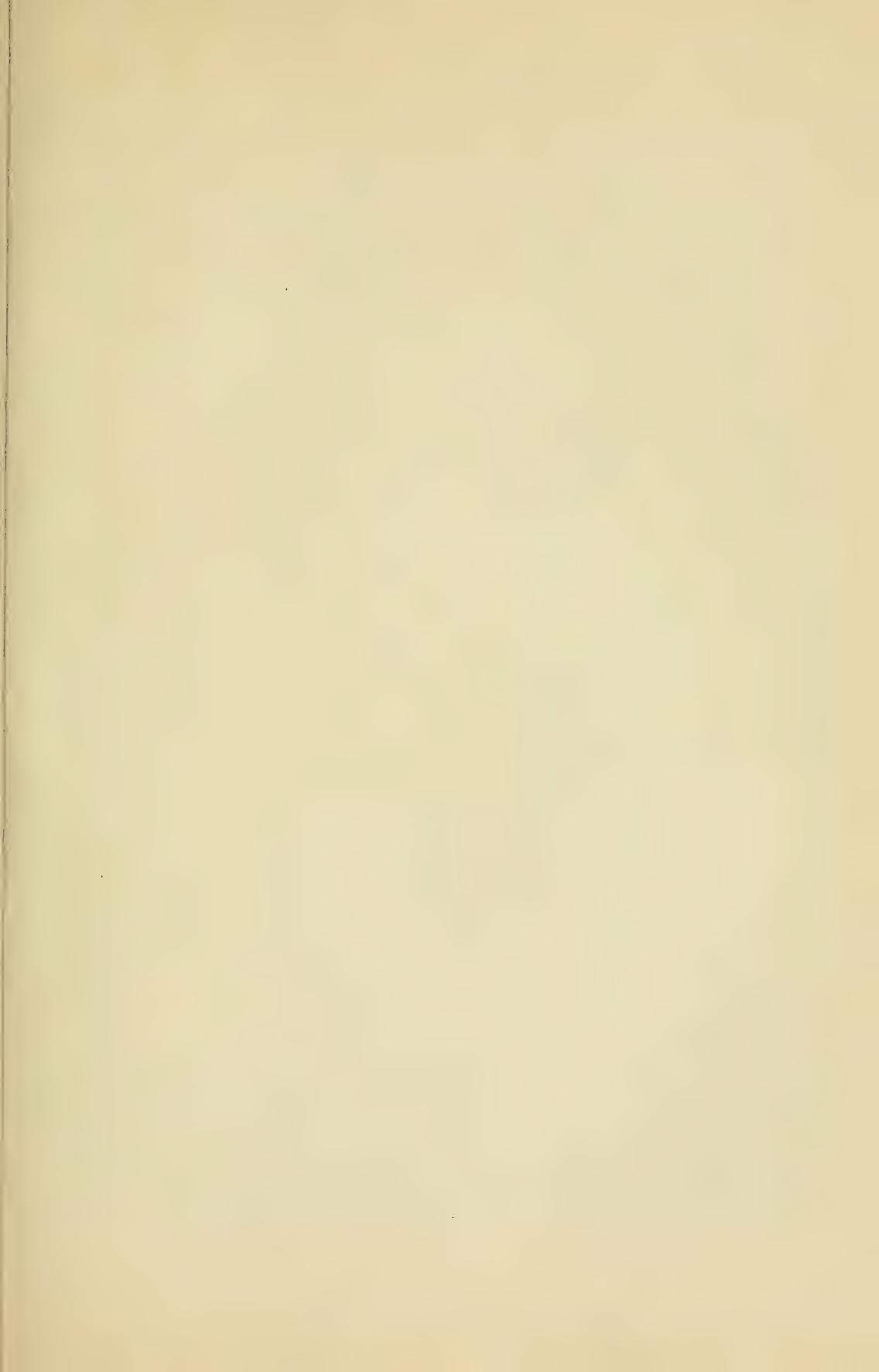
PRELIMINARY SURVEY

Italy and
the Eastern
World.

Phœni-
cians.

Greeks.

296. The appearance of Rome in the East about the year 200 B.C. shifts our attention from the lands which have hitherto occupied us and centres it upon the peninsula of Italy. From an early period this land had come within the circle of ancient history. Back in the fifteenth century its sea-rovers reached the shores of Egypt and from that time took service in the armies of the Pharaohs. The Phœnician merchants visited its coasts and established trading posts round about it in Africa, Sicily, Sardinia and Spain (§§ 56–58). Soon the Greeks found it out and drew its people into the sphere of their life and culture. They planted permanent settlements in Sicily, established a line of cities on its southeastern coast and even founded colonies on its western shore whence they exchanged their goods and gave their civilization to its peoples (§§ 114–115). The heel of Italy was called Greater Greece, and a Greek Empire sprang up about the Sicilian city of Syracuse (§ 222). The wars that shook the Eastern world were felt in Italy; part of the Græco-Persian struggle was fought in Sicily (§ 154), the strength of the Athenian Empire was broken by the disaster of Syracuse (§ 210). It is said that Alexander contemplated the conquest of Italy. We have seen how Pyrrhus attempted in vain to carve out for himself an empire on Italian soil (§ 283).



ANCIENT ITALY.

Scale of Miles.



Reference to Colors.

- Over 9,000 feet
- 3,000 to 9,000 feet
- 500 to 3,000 feet
- Sea Level to 500 feet

The Boundaries are indicated thus: ————
The Roads are indicated thus: ————





The series of circumstances which led the states of the east to draw the Romans into their political entanglements has already been referred to (§ 295). Thus, in turning to Italy, we turn not to a new and hitherto unknown land, but to one already attached to the larger historic world. Italy simply takes the central place; the former leaders become the followers; the west becomes the seat of the dynamo that supplies power to drive politics and civilization to higher achievements in a wider world.

297. In its physical geography Italy combined the characteristics of both the Orient and Greece (§ 92), having level and broad plains intersected by stretches of wild mountain-country, girt about and pierced by the sea on every side. It may be divided into four zones or belts, three running side by side, the fourth placed straight across their top. The central of the three parallel belts is the great bow of the Apennine mountain-range, some eight hundred miles long, the back-bone and determining feature of all the rest. Starting far to the left at the head of the northwestern sea, it moves at first to the east, but soon swings to the south, broadening and rising as it advances, until, in the centre of Italy, its summits reach the height of more than nine thousand five hundred feet and it becomes a highland of mingled valley and mountain, fifty miles wide. Thence it narrows and declines, as it sweeps toward the south and west, and is continued in the westward ranging mountains of Sicily and the projecting highlands of North Africa, less than a hundred miles away. Parallel to this long Apennine bow, on either side of it, are the two belts of eastern and western coast-land. The eastern belt in its upper and middle parts is narrow; the sea lies close to the mountains, which fall off steeply into

Physical
Features
of Italy.

The Four
Zones.

The Apennines.

The Eastern
Slope.

it; the rivers are mountain-torrents; harbors there are none, and the stormy winds of the Adriatic sweep along the inhospitable shores. To the south, as the mountains draw away, the plain widens out into a broad upland. The sea has broken into it along the mountain-side and left a broad promontory gently descending into the Mediterranean to the southeast. The western belt, occupying the concave side of the bow, has an exactly opposite character. Its upper and middle parts make a widening plain through which flow two considerable rivers, the Arno and the Tiber. The mountains slope off in gradual terraces to the sea; good harbors are found. Only in the lower portion, as the Apennines draw toward the southwest, does the plain narrow and at last disappear. The upper Apennines, in their eastern trend, form the southern boundary of the fourth belt, which lies east and west across the top of the other three. To the north of this belt runs the wall of the Alps, the western end of which was washed by the Mediterranean and its eastern slope by the head waters of the Adriatic. Through the district thus marked out between the Alps and the Apennines flowed two rivers. Far in the west rose the Padus (Po), which gathered the mountain-streams from south and north and swept in ever-increasing volume eastward to the Adriatic. From the northern Alps came down the Athesis (Adige) and reached the Adriatic not far north of the Po. Thus a rich and extensive basin was formed, a little world in itself, cut off from the north by the Alps and from the south by the Apennines. Entrance into it from west and north was not easy, but in the east the mountain-streams pouring into the Adriatic had brought down soil which they deposited in the sea, pushing it steadily back until a broad and open

The Western Slope.

The Northern Plain.

pathway had been made, through which outsiders might come from the region of the Balkan peninsula. It was, in fact, by this approach that the Italian peninsula was entered and settled by its historic inhabitants.

298. History has preserved no record of this incoming. Only a comparison of the languages spoken by the peoples reveals their relationship. The historically unimportant Ligurians, occupying the northwestern mountains about the Mediterranean, are set apart as a separate people, as are also the Etruscans, a strong and progressive race, who filled the wide upper plain on the inside of the Apennine bow from the mountains to the sea southward as far as the Tiber. The great mass of the remaining peoples spoke the dialects of a common speech which allies them to the historic inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula and Greece, the Indo-European (§ 9). On the lowest extremity of the eastern slope, Illyrians from across the sea had settled under the name of the Iapygians in the districts of Apulia and Calabria. To them were closely allied the Veneti in the far northeast, the latest comers. The rest of the peninsula was the home of the Italian stock, of which there were several branches. Of that in the southwest the most famous was the Latin people in the plain south of the Tiber; the inhabitants of Sicily belonged to the same branch. The mountaineers formed another vigorous branch, called, from their chief peoples, the Umbro-Sabellians. The Umbrians lived in the northern Apennines overlooking Etruria; the Sabellians were split into several tribes occupying the mountain-valleys of the centre and south. The most vigorous and numerous stock among them was the Samnites. The northern plain of the Po was the seat of mixed populations, a kind of vestibule for

The Peoples of Italy.

Ligurians.

Etruscans.

Illyrians.

Italians.

Kelts.

peoples to enter and mingle before pushing on southward to permanent homes. Already the Kelts from the north



were the predominating element among them—a branch of the Indo-European family.

299. Italy, thrust like a limb from the trunk of Europe down into the Mediterranean, was given by its position an important part to play in the Mediterranean world. Like Greece, it was in the pathway of history advancing westward. Yet, unlike Greece (§ 93), it did not invite and embrace its opportunity, but rather repelled it. Its eastern coast is inhospitable with forbidding mountains and an absence of harbors. To get at Italy you must reach its western coasts; it faces the setting sun. On that side are the broad plains and the harbors. Hence, westward-moving civilization was slow in getting round the barrier; it lingered long on the southeastern shores and in Sicily before moving up to the heart of the peninsula. Yet it is evident that the power which was to move Italy must be situated on its western side.

Influence
of Italy's
Geography
on its His-
tory.

The West-
ern Door.

300. In spite of the grim eastern shore, there was an abundance of easy approaches to Italy. In the north, passes led down through the Alps, to the valley of the Po. The long coast-line of the west and south was open. This made a problem for Italy—the problem of defence against attacks from without which every political power that has held Italy has had to solve. How different was Greece in this respect. For Italy the solution of the problem depended on unity within and command of the sea.

The Prob-
lem of
Defence.

301. But unity within Italy was made difficult by the opposition of highland and plain. The wide Apennine region was the home of vigorous tribes who envied the prosperity of the plain and sallied out from time to time to obtain their share in it—a proceeding which the plainsmen did not relish and from which they must defend themselves until the time came to settle once for all which should be master.

Contrast of
Highland
and Plain.

Origin of
Rome.

302. Out of conditions such as these Rome emerged, a city on the bank of the Tiber, in the southern part of the western plain, equidistant from the sea and the mountains. It was made up of tribes of Latin stock united by mutual necessities and interests in a common city-state. Its origin and early history are veiled in mists of myth and legend through which actual history vaguely glimmers. But, from the first, the chief interest for the student of Ancient History centres in the relation of Rome to surrounding peoples in ever-widening circles. These varying relations make the framework about which gathers the stately structure of its brilliant history.

Its Historic
Secret.

Epochs of
its History.

(1) The
Making of
Rome.

303. We now trace its history in broadest outline. At first it is Italy that makes Rome; the forces that control and shape early Italy determine Rome's life. Chief among these was the expansion of the Etruscan communities. This placed a line of Etruscan kings in power at Rome to 500 B.C. The beginning of the fifth century saw the collapse of Etruscan power in Italy, which was followed by the overthrow of the Etruscan kings at Rome. Rome became an aristocratic republic like those of early Greece (§ 106). The new government soon made itself a power among the adjacent communities and steadily advanced to the headship among Italian states. The former relation was reversed; Rome became leader and mistress of the Italian communities. Troubles with the Greeks of the southeast culminated in the war with Pyrrhus (§ 283), which resulted in the reduction of Greater Greece under Roman authority. Thus by 265 B.C. Rome had united under her leadership, either as citizens or allies, most of the communities of Italy south of the Padus (Po). But, instead of bringing relief, this unity of Italy laid new demands upon Rome. The world of the western Mediterranean, of which Italy was a part, was dominated by the prosperous and aggressive city of Carthage (§ 58). The advance of Carthage into Sicily brought on war with Rome. In this war Rome was finally successful, after a long struggle. Carthage fell, and Rome now became ruler of the western Mediterranean lands, an imperial state (256-202 B.C.). But

(2) Rome's
Western
Empire.

CHART OF ROMAN HISTORY 500 - 200 B.C.

500	INTERNAL HISTORY	EXTERNAL EVENTS	Raid of Sabines, Aequi and Volsci
493	Secession of plebs. <i>Tribunes granted.</i>	Latin League established.	
471	Publilian Law. Plebeian Assembly recognized.	466 League of Rome with the Hernici. 474 Temporary peace with Veii.	
470			
451	<i>Decemvirate.</i>	451 Embassy to Greece to study Greek Law (?)	
449	Valerio-Horatian Laws. Comitia Tributa established.		
445	Canaledian Law. Intermarriage between the orders.		
444	Consular Tribunes chosen.		
440	435 Censors appointed.		
410			
390		396 Capture of Veii by Rome. 390 Capture of Rome by the Gauls.	
380	377 367 Licinio-Sextian Laws. <i>Consulship opened to plebs</i>		
364	Circus erected.	358 Latin league renewed; Latins subordinate.	
356	First plebeian dictator.	350 Gauls cease to be dangerous to Italy.	
350	350 First plebeian Censor.	343 First Samnite War.	
339	Publilian Law. Senate's assent to measures of Comitia given before latter votes.	341 Latin War.	
327	First praetor appointed.	338 Second Samnite War.	
321		321 Battle of Caudine Forks.	
312	Appius Claudius increases number of fully qualified citizens.	304 Third Samnite War.	
304	Official calendar published.	295 Battle of Sentinum.	
300	Ogulnian Law. Priesthoods open to plebs	290 Samnites made allies.	
297	Hortensian Law. Senate's assent to measures of Comitia not required.	281 War with Pyrrhus.	
269	Common coinage for Italy introduced.	275 Battle of Beneventum	
267		272 Magna Graecia subdued	
264		264 First Punic War	
241	Reorganization of Comitia Centuriata. Tribes fixed at thirty-five.	242 Roman Victory at the Aegates Islands. Sicily becomes the first Roman province	
231		231 Province of Sardinia-Corsica	
222		222 Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul.	
217		217 Battle of Lake Trasimene	
216		216 Battle of Cannae.	
211		211 Romans take Capua.	
209		209 Romans take Paestum.	
207		207 Battle of the Metaurus	
202		202 Battle of Zama.	

she could not stop here. Commerce linked the western to the eastern Mediterranean, and the wars with Carthage had already brought Rome into difficulties with the king of Macedonia. All things drove Rome forward to take part in the affairs of the east. A period of seventy years follows (202-133 B.C.), during which Macedonia was overcome and the kingdoms of Asia Minor, the empires of Syria and Egypt, recognized Rome's predominance in the affairs of the East. The whole Mediterranean coast, from Alexandria to the Pillars of Hercules, was made up of states allied to Rome or dependent upon her word of power.

(3) Rome's
Eastern
Empire.

During these centuries, from 500-133 B.C., the government of Rome was passing through some great changes. The ruling aristocracy was at first in possession of all political rights. But little by little the people asserted themselves; they secured the publication of the laws and admission to the Senate, the chief council of the state; they obtained power to elect magistrates and make laws. But, having gained these rights, they were willing in the stress of constant wars to let the actual power pass into the hands of the Senate, which administered the state by the magistrates. But as the state grew, the task became too great and the Senate began to fail in its work. It seemed as though the conquests of Rome were to prove its ruin. The people sought to take charge of affairs again. The result was internal struggle, begun in 133 B.C. The attempt failed. Victorious generals, who, as officials of the state, had extended Rome's power westward to Britain and eastward to the Euphrates, came forward. Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Crassus, Julius Cæsar, strove for leadership. The victor was Julius Cæsar, who gathered into his hands all the constitutional powers of government. Although he was assassinated in 44 B.C., he prepared the way for a reorganization of the state.

Internal
Changes
during
these
Epochs.

Reorgani-
zation.

Cæsar's nephew, Octavius, afterward called Augustus (28 B.C.-A.D. 14), joined with the Senate in a new system of government in which the old constitution was transformed in the interests of Rome's imperial power. A great state was created with organizing and civilizing power on a grand scale. The world, from the Euphrates river to the British Isles, had peace and began to prosper. One language, one law, one culture spread throughout the vast region. Under the successors of Augustus, the Roman emperors, the same prosperity continued for one hundred and fifty years (A.D. 14-160). About the

(4) Rome's
World-
Empire.

middle of the second century A.D., barbarian tribes from the north crossed the borders of the empire. They continued to press forward, and during the third century wrought havoc in the Imperial state.

A renewal of strength was brought about by the reorganization of the government at the end of the third century. The Imperial capital was removed from Rome to Constantinople on the site of the old Greek city of Byzantium. The Christian religion, which had sprung up in the Empire and had grown great in spite of persecution, was made the state religion. Of its ministers the bishop of Rome came forward as a leader of the Church in the west. He was called Pope ("Father"), and had wide influence upon the barbarians, many of whom accepted Christianity.

Thus strengthened, the Empire withstood the invaders for a century (A.D. 284-395). In A.D. 395 the flood of barbarians poured across the frontiers and kingdoms were set up in the Empire over which the emperors had only nominal authority. The four centuries, from A.D. 400-800, were occupied with the ever feebler struggles of the Empire with these kingdoms. At last Charlemagne, king of the Franks, who had built up a great kingdom in the west, was in A.D. 800 crowned Emperor of the Romans by the Pope. The Roman Empire in the east was still in existence, but hardly more than a shadow, and the new Roman Empire was Roman in little more than name. In reality the barbarians had come off victorious, and the World-Empire of Rome was destroyed.

The Grand
Divisions.

304. The grand divisions of this period are therefore the following:

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME, 200 B.C.-A.D. 800

1. The Making of Rome, to 500 B.C.
2. Rome's Western Empire, 500-200 B.C.
3. Rome's Eastern Empire, 200-44 B.C.
4. Rome's World-Empire, 44 B.C.-A.D. 800

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

Preliminary Survey: Early and various points of contact between the East, Italy and Rome—physical geography of Italy (the four belts—characterized)—peoples (basis of organization—early peoples—Italian stock, divisions of it)—relation of geography and history in Italy—effect on Rome—course of Roman history—grand divisions.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. Name the chief rivers of Italy and trace them on the map. 2. Make a chart of the peoples of Italy, showing their relationship. 3. Under each of the main heads in which Roman history is divided in § 304, make a list of important events mentioned in § 303. 4. Draw up a list of the early relations of Italy and the East, look up the references and discuss them in detail.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Geography of Italy. Dionysius in Munro, p. 2; How and Leigh, ch. 1; Shuckburgh, ch. 2; Botsford, p. 15; Myres, ch. 1. 2. Italian Peoples. How and Leigh, ch. 2; Shuckburgh, ch. 3; Myres, ch. 2. 3. Divisions of Roman History. Shuckburgh, ch. 1.

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* For previous bibliographies see pp. 4, 10, 75.

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1.—THE MAKING OF ROME

To 500 B.C.

The
Factors

305. Three factors contributed to the making of Rome: (1) its geographical position, (2) the mixture of peoples that formed it, (3) the influences affecting the early life of Italy out of which it sprang.

(1) Its
Geograph-
ical Posi-
tion.

306. Rome lay on the south bank of the Tiber, the chief navigable river of the western slope. It skirted the Etrurian plain and opened a way into the highlands of the central and upper Apennines. An easy ford near by the city was the natural crossing from the Latin to the Etrurian

country. These facts made Rome a place where roads met, through which traders passed; they gave it great *commercial* importance. At the same time it was midway between the sea and the mountains, far enough away from the one to be protected from the sea-rovers that preyed upon commerce, and sufficiently distant from the other to have timely warning of the raids of the mountaineers. The city was, also, placed on a series of low hills, which fringed the northern border of the Latin land; the rude fortifications on their summits were sufficient to guard the inhabitants against attack and to enable them to control the land round about. Thus the city was not only commercially important, but had an *independent* position. It was central and yet isolated, in the midst of the plain and yet secure from interference—an ideal site destined to greatness. A river, a ford, a fortress—these were the chief physical factors contributing to the making of Rome.

A Commercial
Centre.

Protected,

Independent.

307. Rome is said to have been built on seven hills. The central and most important one, called the Palatine, stood isolated. It was almost square, with its corners turned to the four points of the compass, and almost directly opposite the river-ford. Back of it and away from the river, standing side by side, were other hills, called, respectively, the Cælian, the Esquiline, the Viminal and the Quirinal. On their eastern side they fell away to the plain. South of it, overlooking the river, was the Aventine hill; north of it the Capitoline, isolated and steep. Across the river, lying over against the ford, was the ridge called the Janiculum. In the narrow ravines and valleys between these hills were the roads and open spaces which came to be famous in history. Thus, between the Aventine and the Cælian ran the Appian Way;

The Seven
Hills.

the Circus Maximus (where the public games were held) lay between the Aventine and the Palatine; the Forum (the market and place of citizen-assembly) to the north of the Palatine; where the Tiber makes a great bend, the



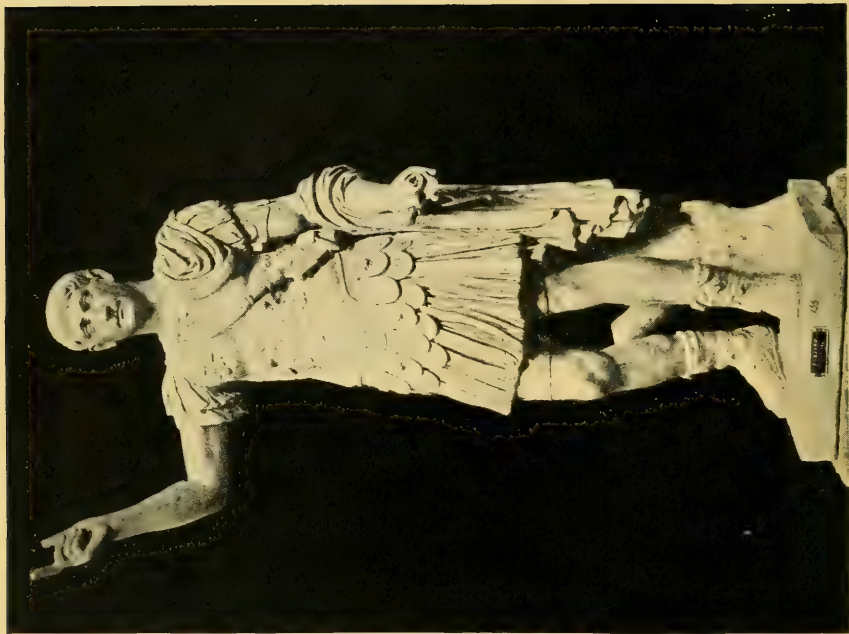
low stretch between it and the Capitoline, the Campus Martius (the "Field of Mars," where the army exercised).

308. Such a site naturally gathered people to it from all sides. Traders were attracted by the commercial opportunities. Outlaws and rovers found in its fortress a safe hiding-place. Peasants from the surrounding country made its hills their refuge, both from the malaria of the

(2) The
Union of
Peoples.



Ashurnatsirpal of Assyria



Trajan, Roman Emperor

TYPICAL SCULPTURED FIGURES

low-lying plains and from the attacks of the mountaineers. The men who flocked to it were, likewise, of different races. All regarded it as neutral ground. The legends tell us that Latins were settled on the Palatine, Etruscans on the Cælian, and Sabines, a branch of the mountain Sabellians, on the Quirinal. The result of this mixture was two-fold: (a) it made the Romans a strong people of varied characteristics, pushing forward in many directions; (b) they were forced to respect one another's rights, which were clearly marked out by distinct agreements. A deep sense of the importance and value of *Law* as a regulating force in public and private life was impressed upon them from the beginning. As a result the practical sense for government, based upon the legal recognition of rights and duties, came to be one of the chief characteristics of the Roman people.

The Effect.

Vergil, one of Rome's greatest poets, has immortalized this Roman sense for government in the famous lines of the "Æneid" (vi, 851-853):

Thine, O Roman, remember, to reign over every race!
These be thine arts, thy glories, the ways of peace to proclaim,
Mercy to show to the fallen, the proud with battle to tame!

309. Each of the three communities was organized on the tribal basis, as in Greece (§ 105). The bond of union was blood-relationship. The fundamental unit was the family, and the head of the family was the father (*pater*). He had unlimited authority, even to the putting of his children to death. The family grew into a larger unity called the "House" (*gens*), while the power of the fathers continued. A natural outgrowth of this expansion of the family was the greater power and importance of some houses which were called *patricii*, "patri-

Earliest
Organiza-
tion.

cians," corresponding to the Greek aristocracy (§ 106). Over against them the mass of the people was called "plebeians." Politically, the tribe was organized with a tribal king at the head, his council of elders about him (called *patres*, "fathers," or, because they were old men, *senatus*, the "senate"), and the public assembly of the citizens gathered for war. Within the tribe were circles of blood kinsmen, called *curiæ*; when the public assembly was summoned, it came together (*coire*) and did business by *curiæ* and hence was called the *Comitia Curiata*. This organization was carried over into the new community, which at some unknown period was formed out of the tribes and peoples gathered on the Roman hills. The city-state of Rome came into existence, like those in Greece (§ 108). The traditional date of this act was 753 B.C., and from it the Romans counted the years of their history.*

Rome a
City-State.

The
Legends
of Rome's
Beginning.

310. About this natural and prosaic origin of Rome the Romans wove a variety of picturesque stories which were preserved and put in order by their historians many centuries later. In these legends the Roman people were connected with Æneas, one of the heroes of Troy (§ 102), who wandered to Italy and married Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, king of Latium. One of his descendants, Rhea, gave birth to twin sons, Romulus and Remus; their father was the god Mars. Shortly after their birth, their wicked uncle, the king, ordered them to be thrown into the Tiber, but the river yielded them up to a herdsman, who brought them up as his children. On growing up, they discovered their real origin, killed their uncle and proceeded to found a city. A quarrel arising between them,

* Thus A.U.C. (*anno urbis conditæ*, "in the year of the founding of the city," or "*ab urbe condita*," "from the founding of the city") corresponds to our A.D. (*Anno Domini*, "in the year of the Lord").

Romulus killed his brother and became founder and king of the city, called Rome after his name. He gave the city its laws and religion, invited all men desirous of change and advancement to become its citizens, and appointed one hundred of them senators. In order to secure wives for his people, he proclaimed a festival and invited neighboring peoples to the spectacle; when they had gathered, on a signal his men seized their daughters and took them as wives. A fierce war arising in consequence, Romulus defeated all his enemies except the Sabines, who were induced, by *the intercession* of the Roman women, their daughters, at the crisis of a hot battle, to make peace and join the new community. Romulus, not long after, was carried away into heaven. He was followed in the kingship by the wise and pious Numa Pompilius, whose achievement it was to organize the religion and civilization of Rome. His wife was a goddess, the nymph Egeria, whom he was wont to meet and consult in a grove whence a spring flowed. Tullus Hostilius succeeded him, a warrior who fought with Alba Longa and overthrew the Albans. In this war there were on one occasion three twin brothers in either army, the Roman Horatii and the Alban Curiatii, who agreed to fight a combat, the issue of which was to determine the war. The Horatii conquered, one brother surviving. On his return home, his sister, who was betrothed to one of the slain Curiatii, lamented grievously. This so enraged the victor that he slew her. About to be put to death by the judges for this crime, he appealed to the people, who acquitted him. Tullus was followed by Ancus Marcius, a grandson of Numa, who won considerable victories over the Latins and added people and territory to the city. Such, according to the legends, was the origin and early history of Rome.

3II. Rome was at the beginning only an insignificant city-state of Italy. A long history of Italian progress in civilization and politics had unrolled before its birth and contributed to its making. In the first place, it was a city of Latium, the land of the Latins. The cities of Latium had long formed a league, and the Romans, as chiefly of the Latin stock, would naturally

(3) Italy
Makes
Rome.

Latium
and its
League.

form part of it. The League had its centre in the city of Alba Longa, where representatives of thirty cities met yearly, united in worship of the god, Jupiter, and deliberated on affairs of common interest. Thus an opportunity was offered Rome of taking part in the life of a larger world. Second, the various civilizing and progressive influences of the East had long been affecting the Italian communities of the west coast and creating a new and vigorous social and political life. Of all these communities, the Etruscans had been most capable of profiting by such influences. They had, at a very early period, expanded their borders southward to the Tiber and eastward to the Apennines; they had seats in the valley of the Po, and from the sea-coast made voyages throughout the Tyrrhenian sea to Corsica and Sardinia. The Phœnicians brought them into contact with Oriental civilization, and the Greeks gave to them their own rich and splendid achievements in art and culture. Egyptian seals and Greek vases have been found in Etruscan graves. Etruscan art took such objects as models and developed skill in the making of weapons of war and objects of trade. The commerce of their cities grew; they became rich and powerful. As the Greeks began to settle in Italy, their merchants brought along with their wares the intellectual riches of the mother-country. From the Greek colonies Italy learned the art of writing, the names and worship of Greek gods, and Greek arts of life. Under these influences the Etruscan communities began to expand toward the south, and by the sixth century (600 B.C.) appear to have been in possession of the greater part of the western plain as far as the Greek

The
Etruscan
Develop-
ment.

The Greek
Influence.

Etruscan
Expansion
and Rule of
Rome.

city of Cyme. In this forward movement Rome fell under their power. Etruscan kings ruled over it.

312. During the reign of Ancus Marcius—the Roman legends go on to relate—there came to Rome from Tarquinius in Etruria a man whose name was Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. It was said that on the journey to Rome an omen of his future greatness was given; an eagle flew down, took off his cap, circled about him and replaced it. He grew in wealth and influence and was appointed guardian of the king's children. On the king's death he sought and obtained from the people election to the throne. To strengthen his position he added one hundred men to the Senate. He fought victoriously with Latins and Sabines; he laid out the Circus Maximus and exhibited games there; he began to wall the city, to drain its hollows by sewers and to lay out the space for a temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. But the sons of Ancus Marcius, who sought revenge for having been supplanted by a foreigner, plotted against the king and brought about his murder. They failed, however, to secure the throne. A young man, Servius Tullius, a captive and slave, had been favored by the king and betrothed to his daughter. It is said that the king's attention had been drawn to him by a strange portent; as the boy lay asleep in the palace, his head suddenly flamed with fire, which disappeared when he awoke. On the king's murder, before it was widely known that he was dead, Servius assumed his duties and at last seized the throne and established himself firmly. He was a wise and vigorous ruler. Under him the Roman state was reorganized. He instituted the census, or classification of the people in classes and centuries on the basis of property, chiefly for purposes of war. The citizens thus organized numbered 80,000. He enlarged the city and surrounded it with a wall and a moat. After a long reign he was slain by Tarquinius, the son, or grandson, of Priscus, urged on to the crime by his wife, the daughter of Servius, who was eager for royal power. Tarquinius, called Superbus, "the proud," because of his haughty and unbending temper, ruled with energy and success. He gained for Rome greater influence in the Latin League, warred with the mountaineers and won the city of Gabii. At home he made many improvements in the city; built the great sewer,

erected seats in the Circus and began a splendid temple to Jupiter upon the area marked out by Priscus. But a series of events followed which brought about his overthrow and the disappearance of kings from Rome.

Growth
under
Etruscan
Rule.

313. It is clear that under these Etruscan kings Rome entered upon a new career. All sides of its inner and outer life received fresh impulse. The city was architecturally improved and adorned. Its area was enlarged and a wall was thrown around the whole. Buildings were erected for state purposes, a prison and temples. A fine drainage system was undertaken. Etruscan culture was introduced; Roman youth learned the language and wisdom of Etruria. The Roman power made itself felt in Latium. The headship of the Latin League fell into the hands of these kings. The extension of Etruscan power throughout the western plain contributed to the spread of commerce and trade. A larger share of these fell to Rome and brought increased wealth and culture from the east, as well as a greater population to take advantage of the larger opportunities.

Roman
Religion.

314. Two spheres of Roman life, affected by the Etruscan domination, deserve special mention: the religious and the political organization. Roman religion was a very simple and practical affair, befitting a farmer-folk without culture. They believed themselves surrounded by spirits who were active everywhere in nature and in their own affairs. These spirits dwelt in animals, in trees, in fountains and the like. The farm life had its special divine patrons, worshipped in rude festivals occurring at set times, sowing or harvest. By ceremonies suitable to the occasion—the

procession of farmers with their farm animals around the fields, or a rustic feast with boisterous games and rough horse-play—the worshippers appeased the higher powers and secured their help in the growing and ripening of the crops. The farmhouse had its deities—Vesta, the guardian of the hearth, and Janus, the spirit of the doorway. As life in the city supplanted agriculture, these powers took up their home there, and their worship was organized. Some spirits became patrons of private life, as the Lares, who were the spirits of ancestors, and the Penates, who presided over the provisions. There was still much indefiniteness as to the names and power of the spirits. The Romans thought more of what they did than of what they were called and how they looked. Yet, as the public life became more regular, the more important gods came to have special names and a suitable worship. So we have Jupiter, the sky god, Diana, the forest goddess, Ceres, the mother of agriculture, Venus, goddess of fruitfulness and love, Mars, god of war, Neptune, of the sea, Vulcan, of fire and mechanic arts, Juno, goddess of motherhood and patron of families and clans. The world of the dead was regarded as beneath the earth and had its deity, Dispatēr. King Numa stood in the tradition as the prime organizer of the Roman state-worship of the various gods. To him was ascribed the appointment of the chief body of priests, called pontifices, at the head of which was the pontifex maximus. The sentiment of law and order, which was so characteristic of Roman life everywhere, had full sway here and led to a very careful arrangement of the relations between gods and men. Though the Romans were not on

familiar terms with their gods—they feared rather than loved them—and did not imagine them beautiful beings, as did the Greeks (§ 113), yet they believed one thing firmly and strongly about them, that they would be as honest and as faithful to their agreements as were their worshippers. Thus, attention was directed to learning the terms on which the gods would live at peace with men and prosper them; and having learned this, having come to terms with the gods, the Romans faithfully and scrupulously kept their part of the contract and expected in turn that the gods would do their part. Honest fulfilment of definite obligation, this was man's duty toward the gods. This made the old Roman strong and strenuous in his daily work at home and abroad.

Etruscan
Influence
on Religion.

315. The Etruscan period brought in new gods and new religious forms. The most important new deity was Minerva, goddess of wisdom, patron of trade and commerce. New temples were built; particularly the state temple on the Capitoline, where Jupiter, Juno and Minerva were worshipped together and thus became the chief deities of the city. But the principal result of Etruscan influence was to aid Roman religion to determine more clearly the will of the gods by a system of omens. An "omen" was an indication of what the gods wanted or how they felt; it could be a seemingly chance event in the natural world, such as the actions of animals—a rat running across the path, the blowing of the wind, or a thunder-storm. The Etruscans were experts at devising means to this end. The meaning of such things had been studied, and a system of laws discovered, by which the gods revealed them-

selves to the one who knew how to interpret these signs, called *auspicia*. Such a development of their religion was natural and acceptable to the Romans and became an essential part of it. Officials, called Augurs and Haruspices, were set apart to study, put in order and practise this system, to learn and interpret the auspices. Thus the religion became more and more rigid and formal, yet also more definite and concrete. Its name indicates its character—*religio*—that which “binds” gods and men to keep their word, to fulfil a contract, the terms of which are known and acknowledged by both parties. The corresponding word for man’s attitude toward the gods—the honest doing of duty as prescribed in definite law and ritual—was *pietas*.

The story went that once the Sibyl visited Tarquin the Proud and offered to sell him nine books by which the will of the gods could be interpreted. The price was high and the king refused. She burned three of them and offered him the rest for twice the price. Again he refused. She burned three more and again doubled the price for the three that remained. The king reflected and finally paid what she demanded. These three Sibylline Books came to be most precious possessions of the state and were consulted at critical moments in its history.

316. Roman political organization underwent important changes in the Etruscan period. As these kings were foreign conquerors, they could deal with the political arrangements of the state as they liked. There was need of change. During Rome’s progress in commercial and political importance, while the original basis of citizenship (§ 309) had remained, the population of the city had greatly altered. Many strangers had come to take part in trade and enjoy the advantages of

Etruscan
Political
Influence
on Rome.

life at Rome. Many citizens, living away from the city or growing poor, had been unable to keep up their citizen duties and had lost their privileges. All these people could secure protection only by attaching themselves to some noble "house" or to the king. Such persons were called "clients" and their protectors "patrons." They performed no public service, neither serving in the army nor paying taxes. A rearrangement, ascribed to King Servius Tullius (§ 312), brought these people into the service of the community by making them a part of the army. This was done by substituting for tribal and blood right the possession of property as the sole condition for military service. An entire reorganization of the military arrangements of the state was thus made necessary. A larger and more efficient army was created, the strength of the state increased and the power of the king heightened by the devotion of the people, thus honored by him. Servius is also said to have divided the Roman territory into four parts and to have called the dwellers in each part a "tribe."* This was a convenient arrangement for levying the army and raising taxes. In due time political changes of great importance followed this new organization.

The Army
Reorgan-
ized.

The Local
Tribes.

The Classes
and the
Centuries.

317. The traditional account of the arrangements of Servius, as preserved by later Roman writers and interpreted by modern scholars, is as follows. The very richest of the people were appointed to the cavalry (equites or knights). This cavalry force was divided into eighteen companies called "centuries" or hundreds. The rest of the people made up the infantry. They were organized into six

* "Tribe" used in this sense is a local division, not one based on blood-relationship (§ 309).

"classes," grading down according to property. Each class* was made up of a certain number of centuries. The first class, composed of men whose wealth was estimated at one hundred thousand asses,† had eighty centuries of fully armed soldiers; the second class, men worth seventy-five thousand asses; the third class, men worth fifty thousand asses, and the fourth class, men worth twenty-five thousand asses, had each twenty centuries and were armed in less complete fashion; the fifth class, men worth eleven thousand asses, in thirty centuries, were slingers; the sixth class, made up of all worth less than this sum, formed one century. Two other centuries were made up of artificers and trumpeters. The cavalry and the men of military age in the first five classes constituted the army in the field. The infantry was drawn up in two bodies, each called a *Legio* (legion). These were made up of men of the first three classes; the fourth and fifth classes supplied the auxiliary troops. The legion was drawn up six men deep with a front of 500 men; with its auxiliaries, therefore, it numbered 4,200. Two other legions, held at home to protect the city and made up of men past military age, raised the total military force of Rome to 18,600 men.

318. It seemed as though the influence of the Etruscan kings among the people and their pre-eminence in Latium would secure to them a long and firm hold upon Rome. But it did not so turn out. The noble families grew stronger; the sentiment of nationality opposed the rule of strangers; at last the Etruscan rulers were driven out; with them went the kingship itself. The process was, no doubt, much the same as in Greece (§ 106). Remains of the kingly dignity survived only in the religious sphere. The *rex sacrorum*, "king of

The Roman Reaction.

Fall of Etruscan Kings and End of the Kingship.

* The term "class" here has the meaning of "calling out," *i. e.*, "Levy."

† The *as*, of bronze, was the unit of value in Roman currency. In the time of Servius the property was in land; the estimate in money value is the work of a later time. Compare the similar organization of Solon (§ 137)

sacred things," became the highest priestly representative of the state in certain solemn religious exercises, and the *Regia*, "royal palace," was turned into a holy place where priests dwelt and sacrifices were performed. The aristocracy took control of affairs and Rome became an aristocratic state. The date traditionally set for this change was 509 B.C. The transformations brought about in connection with it, both in the life of Rome and in its relations to Italy, are so important as to make it a turning-point in Roman history, the beginning of a new period.

Legend
of the
Expulsion.

319. The Roman legends describe the growing arrogance of Tarquin the Proud and his family, under which the Romans were impatient but submissive. Finally a gross act of violence was inflicted by Tarquin's son upon Lucretia, wife of the noble Collatinus; under the shame of it she killed herself in the presence of her husband and his friends. The king was at the time absent from the city, waging war. They raised a rebellion; the gates of the city were closed against him, and the kingship was formally abolished by the citizens.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. THE MAKING OF ROME. The three factors: (1) Geographical position—river, ford, fortress; (2) Union of peoples—result—organization in fact and in legend; (3) Italy makes Rome: Latin league—Etruscan civilization—Greek influence—Etruscan rule in Rome, the tradition—Etruscan influence—Roman religion and Etruscan religion, political reorganization, the army—reaction of Romans, and driving out of Etruscans, end of kingship.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. How did the Tiber and the Palatine affect the early history of Rome? 2. What is meant by gens, patrician, plebeian, omen, religio, pietas, equites? 3. What was the traditional date of the founding of Rome? of the expulsion of the Kings?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. In what was the early organization of Rome (§ 309) like and unlike that of the Greek communities of the Middle Age (§§ 105-107)? 2. Compare the origin of Rome with that of Athens (§ 108). 3. Compare the geography of Greece and Italy and show how differently the history of each land was thus affected. 4. Compare the reforms of Servius with those of Solon (§ 137).

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. Sources and Trustworthiness of Early Roman History. Munro, pp. 3-5; Shuckburgh, pp. 54-60; How and Leigh, pp. 34-37; Myres, pp. 38-41; Seignobos, pp. 33-35; West, pp. 256-258. 2. Stories of the Kings from Romulus to Ancus. Plutarch, Romulus and Numa; Munro, pp. 66-68; Seignobos, pp. 15-20. 3. Stories of the Etruscan Kings. Seignobos, pp. 21, 27. 4. The Reforms of Servius in Some Detail, with a Diagram. Munro, pp. 45-47; Shuckburgh, pp. 43-49; Myres, pp. 56-63; How and Leigh, p. 28; Abbott, pp. 20, 21; Botsford, *Ancient History*, p. 299. 5. The Curiae and the Comitia Curiata. Abbott, pp. 18-20.

2.—ROME'S WESTERN EMPIRE

500-200 B.C.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

320. The aristocracy to whom the leadership of the state now fell had a twofold task imposed upon them. They had (1) to defend the community against its enemies without and (2) to maintain themselves within the state against both those who might threaten their supremacy and those who sought a larger share in the social and political life. These two problems were bound up together. For no sooner was success achieved in war against enemies than danger threatened from the ambition of the officials, under whom it had been

The Double
Task of
the New
Govern-
ment.

gained, and from the mass of the people, who had fought for their country in the victorious army. If we take the outward progress of Rome as our guiding clew, three periods in this struggle may be fixed.

(1) Rome's
Defence
against Her
Neighbors:
from 500-
390 B.C.

321. Etruscans on the north, mountain tribes from the east, Latins on the south, threatened the existence of the state. By hard fighting, skilful diplomacy and wise compromise, the Romans were able to beat off all these enemies, reducing some to subjection and forming alliances with others, until at the close of the period a defensible frontier had been established, extending from the middle of Etruria in the north to the southern border of Latium, eastward to the Apennines and westward to the sea. This brilliant success had been accompanied by changes in the inner life of the state. The officials had been reduced in their powers, but the plebeians had gained in position. The aristocracy had been forced to publish the laws in twelve tables, to admit the plebeians to a minor part in the government and to give them an official called the Tribune to represent and defend them.

(2) The
Union of
Italy under
Rome:
from 390-
265 B.C.

322. At the beginning of the fourth century the very existence of the state was threatened by a tremendous incursion of the Kelts (Gauls) from the far north. All Etruria and Latium were overrun, the mountain tribes pushed southward, and Rome itself was captured and burned. But the Romans remained indomitable, rallied their forces, hurled the invaders back into the valley of the Po and held them there. Then they turned against the restless and warlike mountaineers, who in the south were pushing over into the western plain. They advanced against the Samnites and overthrew

CHART OF ROMAN HISTORY. 200-31 B.C.

[illegible]

them in the mountains. Brought thus into hostile relations with the cities of Greater Greece (§ 114), they contended with Pyrrhus of Epirus (§ 283), drove him out of Italy and extended their authority to the Adriatic. They strengthened their position against revolt in Latium and the mountain-region, until, at last, they found themselves at the head of all the Italian states, which were bound to them by strong ties of a common citizenship or liberal alliances. Accompanying this outward progress, there went on, within the state, the steady growth of the plebeians in their position and power. All the offices of the state were thrown open to them. The assembly of the whole people, organized by tribes, became the chief legislative power. The citizenship was extended to other communities; the supremacy of the aristocracy, even in the senate, was broken by the admission of wealthy plebeians.

323. Carthage was the leading commercial state of the West. Rome's union of Italy made complications with her inevitable, since Carthage sought to control all commercial activity and Rome was bound to defend and sustain the commerce of Italy. War broke out on the neutral ground of Sicily and continued for half a century. The culmination was the invasion of Italy by the Carthaginian general, Hannibal; Rome fought desperately for her life. But the Italian states remained faithful to her, Hannibal retired and Carthage was at last overthrown. Rome took the leadership in the western Mediterranean. Her authority extended over north Africa, Spain, Sicily and all Italy, even to the Alps. In this time of stress the public assembly of the citizens was too large and unwieldy to conduct affairs;

(3) The
Struggle
with Car-
thage for
the Western
Mediterra-
nean: from
265-200
B.C.

therefore, the senate led the state, taking measures for the war, raising money, appointing leaders and sustaining courage and activity. Thus, at the close of the period, it was the chief executive power; the citizens, though rulers in theory, in fact submitted to senatorial direction. When this period of three centuries (500–200 B.C.) closes, therefore, Rome has grown from a city to an imperial state, ruling the western Mediterranean. She is transformed from an aristocratic community into a democracy in which, however, the actual power was in the hands of a corporation of men of wealth and blood gathered in the senate. We may now study the history of these three epochs in detail.

(I) ROME'S DEFENCE AGAINST HER NEIGHBORS

500–390 B.C.

The New
Govern-
ment.

Officials.

324. The growing power of the noble houses had resulted in the overthrow of the kingship. Into the place of the monarchy stepped the aristocracy, to whom fell the organization and conduct of the state. They occupied the offices, made and administered the laws and determined the policy. Two officials, called *consuls*, or *prætors*, were appointed for the administration. In taking office they were given the *imperium*, which was equivalent to the possession of kingly powers; they led the armies, pronounced judgment and performed the chief public religious services. But the aristocracy had no idea of substituting new kings

for the old. The powers of the consuls were carefully limited. They were elected for one year only; they must be aristocrats; their powers were equal and hence each could nullify the acts of the other. An important change took place in the citizen body. The army, as reorganized in centuries by Servius (§ 317), had been the efficient instrument of the aristocracy in accomplishing the revolution; it was now more than ever necessary in maintaining the state. Very naturally, therefore, it was the most important body of the people; all its members became citizens and were organized as a new assembly for the election of consuls and the making of laws. It was called the *Comitia Centuriata* and soon put the old curiate assembly (§ 309) in the shade. The latter continued to meet, but was insignificant. The senate was the real power in the new state. It was composed entirely of aristocrats. It practically dictated the election of consuls, determined their policy and indicated what laws should be passed by the people.

Citizens.

Senate.

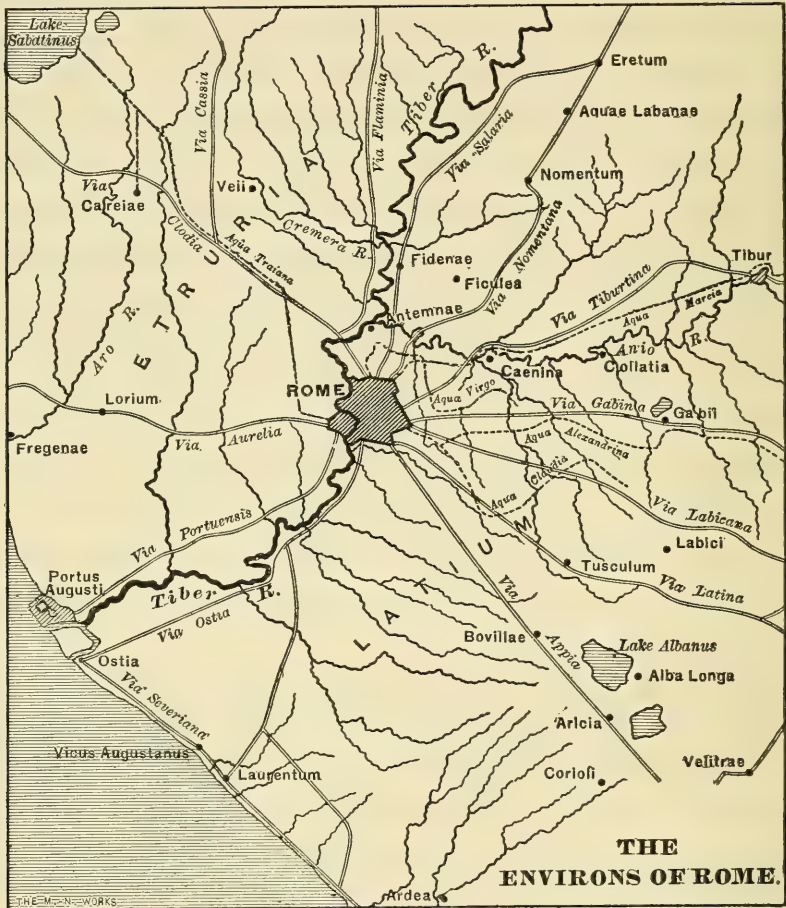
325. The dangers that confronted the new government were sufficiently alarming. With the passing of the monarchy, the Latin cities rejected the leadership of Rome; indeed, it is probable that they also put off Etruscan domination and set up for themselves in the same fashion as did Rome. The rivalry thus created might have proved disastrous, had not a new danger driven them back to the old alliance. This was the invasion of the mountain tribes, long held in leash by the strong Etruscan power in Latium. The Latin League was said to have been re-established by Spurius Cassius in 493 B.C. Thereupon, Rome led the plains-

Difficulties
with
Neighbors.

With the
Latins.

With the
Mountain-
eers.

men out against the invading mountaineers. From the east the Sabines and Hernici were advancing, from the south the Æqui and Volsci. But the Hernici were secured as allies, and thus the eastern and southern



invaders separated. Yet the conflict was long and trying. From time to time the hillsmen swept down to the very gates of Rome, raiding and burning the fields and homesteads.

With the
Etruscans.

326. An even fiercer struggle was forced by the Etruscans, who would not willingly yield up their hold

on Rome and Latium. The centre of the war was the strong city of Veii, the rival of Rome, situated a few miles to the north. The trade of Rome with the upper Tiber country was cut off and the superior military ability of the Etruscans was emphasized in severe defeats inflicted upon the Roman army. Still the Romans gradually got the better of their antagonist, owing not more to their own valor than to the general decline of the Etruscan power, which was being attacked on all sides. The Greeks were cutting off the commerce of the Etruscans; an enemy in the north, the Kelts (Gauls), was pushing down upon them; it had driven them out of the Po valley and compelled them to stand on the defensive. In this situation they could not concentrate their waning strength on Rome. At last, Veii itself fell before a Roman assault (396 B.C.) The Romans advanced into the heart of Etruria and took possession of the southern half of the land.

Capture of
Veii.

327. Many stories of heroic exploits were told about these early wars of Rome with its neighbors:

The
Legends
of these
Struggles.

When the gates of the city had been shut against him, Tarquin the Proud immediately set about recovering his power. At first a plot was formed within Rome among the noble youth who felt that they were under restraint in the new conditions. But just as they were about to spring their trap, they were betrayed by a slave who overheard their treasonable communings. Even though the sons of the consul, they were not saved from summary execution inflicted under their father's direction. Whereupon Tarquin, having solicited aid from the cities of Etruria, came against Rome with an army from Veii and Tarquinii. In the battle, Brutus, the consul, and Aruns, Tarquin's son, found death in single combat. Help was then sought by Tarquin from Lars Porsena, king of the powerful city of Clusium, who led down from the north a mighty host against Rome. He would have forced a passage over the Sublician bridge had not a

1. The
Etruscan
Wars.

Porsena.

brave warrior, Horatius Cocles, supported by two companions, held the entrance against the enemy, never retiring until the Romans cut down the bridge behind him; then plunging into the Tiber he swam safely back to his friends. Porsena brought the city low by a blockade; he was persuaded to give up his hostile endeavors only through the heroic act of Mucius, who, in disguise, entered the Etruscan camp in order to kill the king. By a mistake he killed the king's secretary and, when arrested and brought before Porsena, he declared that there were 300 other Roman youth, like himself, sworn to kill the king. In proof of his determination, he thrust his right hand into the fire that was lighted for the sacrifice. Hence he was afterward called Scævola, "the left-handed." Porsena, moved with admiration and fear, dismissed the youth unharmed. Soon he made peace and retired.

The
Fabii.

But the people of Veii continued to war with Rome, harassing them with frequent raids. On one occasion, the noble family of the Fabii offered to proceed against them and conduct the war. So they marched out 306 strong amid the prayers and praises of the people. Arrived at a strong place at the river Cremera, they fortified it, and for a time fought the Veientes with great success. But, at last, growing confident and careless, they were ambushed by the enemy and cut off. Only one of them, and he a child, was left to represent his family. A few years after, peace for forty years was declared between the two states. Then the war broke out again with the going over of Fidenæ, a Roman colony, to Veii. In the battle that followed, Aulus Cornelius Cossus slew, with his own hand, Tolumnius, king of Veii, and hung up the royal spoils beside those dedicated by Romulus in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Not long after, Fidenæ was taken by storm. But the war continued with varying success, until the other Etruscan cities decided to give no more help to Veii. Then the Romans resolved to lay siege to the city. For ten years their armies lay before it, but the city was defended with vigor. In despair the Romans sought an oracle from Delphi (§ 118), and were told that victory depended on letting out the waters of the Alban lake. When this was done, Marcus Furius Camillus, the dictator, solemnly invited Juno, the goddess of Veii, to abandon the doomed city and come to Rome; then the assault was made and Veii fell.

Siege of
Veii.

News came to the Romans that thirty Latin cities had entered into alliance against them under the leadership of Octavius Mamilius. It was said that Tarquin the Proud, now an old man, had instigated this movement and was present in the hostile army. So great was the terror of the Romans, that now, perhaps for the first time, they appointed a Dictator who superseded the consuls in carrying on the war. The armies met at Lake Regillus, and the battle was long and fierce. The supporters of Tarquin charged with great fury. In the thick of the fight, twin heroes, mounted on white horses, were seen leading on the Romans. Under their inspiration the leader of the enemy was slain and his army routed. Strange to say, immediately after the battle, the heroes disappeared and were seen at Rome with foaming horses, bearing the news of the victory. They were soon recognized as the twin gods, Castor and Pollux, and a temple was built in their honor by the fountain in Rome where they appeared. Soon after, the Latins made peace and entered into a league with the Romans.

2. The Latin Wars.

Battle of Lake Regillus.

In one of the many wars with the mountain tribes the Roman army had been surrounded by the Æqui and was in danger of destruction. News was brought to Rome. Hope was found only in the appointment, as Dictator, of the first citizen of the state, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus. The messengers found him at work cultivating his little farm of four acres across the Tiber. He wiped the sweat and dust from his face and, just as he was, received the congratulations of the messengers and their announcement of his appointment. The desperate situation was explained; he came into the city, raised an army, defeated the enemy and delivered his countrymen. Sixteen days from the time of receiving his appointment he gave it up and returned to his farm.

3. Wars with the Hill-Folk.

Cincinnatus.

Caius Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus, from his valor at the capture of the city of Corioli, incurred the hatred of the plebeians by his arrogant behavior and was condemned. He retired to the Volsci, and, being kindly received by them, became their leader. Led by him the Volsci brought the Romans to the brink of ruin. He took his stand a short distance from the city and devastated the country far and wide. All overtures for peace were rejected by the general, until his mother and wife, leading his children, came to him. As he rose to embrace his mother, she reproached him with his

Coriolanus

treachery to his native land, saying, "Before I receive your embrace, let me know whether I have come to an enemy or to a son." These words and the lamentations of the women overcame his resolution. He withdrew his army and Rome was saved.

Division of
Powers
among New
Officials.

Censors.

Quæstors.

Overthrow
of Ambi-
tious
Leaders.

328. During these troubled years, to hold its course successfully between the ambitions of individual nobles and the demands of the aggressive plebeians, was no easy task for the aristocratic government. The account of the events, which was handed down from these early times, has sadly mixed up the activities of the patricians in both these directions. But it is clear that they weakened the power of the consuls by distributing it among other officials. The most important of these officials were the two *censors*, whose duty it was to keep a roll of the citizens, to decide as to the political status of each citizen and to determine the taxes each should pay. They supervised public and private morals; indeed, the censorship was a kind of national conscience, deciding as to what was good or bad citizenship and punishing breaches of good order. Two *quæstors* were appointed to have charge of the public treasury; they received and paid out money on the order of the senate. Other quæstors had similar duties with respect to the military chest. Thus two important prerogatives were lost to the consuls. At the same time, whenever anyone seemed likely to be rising too high in the state and aiming at supreme power, the government made away with him. We are told of the ambitions and the fall of Spurius Cassius, of Coriolanus, of Appius Herdonius and Appius Claudius and of Spurius Mælius. As the story goes, the consul Spurius Cassius, who had deserved well of the Roman people by bringing the Latins back into union with Rome, devised

a scheme for dividing certain conquered lands equally among the Romans and the Latins. This excited grave disturbances within the state, and the patricians tried to stir up the people against him. He, in his turn, sought to gain them to his side by refunding to them certain moneys which rightfully belonged to them. But they suspected him of aiming at royal power and refused the bribe. As soon as he went out of office, he was condemned and put to death.

329. It seemed as if the government had nothing to fear from the plebeians, since all powers were in the hands of the patricians. But the plebeians could not fail to have their part in Rome's new wealth and importance. Some of them grew rich, and all were necessary in the wars which the state was waging. Indeed, they found themselves suffering most from the hardships which the wars brought with them. The raids of the mountaineers bore hard on the poorer farmers who could not care for their fields while fighting in the armies. The chains of debt and slavery hung the more heavily about them and their families. The patricians had no mercy upon them. The aristocratic government administered the law with merciless severity to suit the privileged class. When this yoke became unendurable, the plebeians rose in rebellion. But even then the patricians made only such concessions as weakened the powers of the magistrates and did not directly threaten the aristocratic ascendancy. Thus the right of appeal to the popular assembly from the judgment of a consul in a death-sentence was early granted and became one of the bulwarks of civic freedom. Another outburst secured the appointment of a set of officials representing the plebeians in opposition to the regular magis-

Growing
Power of
Plebeians.

Rebellion.

Right of
Appeal.

Tribunes
Appointed.

trates. These were the *Tribunes*. They were chosen by the plebeians themselves. At first two, their number was afterward increased to ten. They had no part in the government, but could only interfere with the action of magistrates in the interests of their plebeian brethren. Thus, if a plebeian was to be imprisoned for debt or was drafted for the army by order of the consul, the tribune could step in and release him. The person of the tribune was sacred and to do him injury was punishable with death. He could assemble the plebeians for the purpose of talking over their affairs; in this assembly* the plebeians made their importance in the state felt in various ways.

Plebeian
Assembly.

330. But it was soon seen that to allow the tribune to block the regular magistrates in this way was to create all sorts of disturbance in the state. What the plebeians really needed was to have the laws, by which the consuls passed judgment, known to all, and not the private property of the aristocrats only. This was agreed to. A commission of ten men, the Decemviri, was appointed to draw up a code which was later known as the Law of the Twelve Tables and became the foundation of the Roman legal system. The procedure was the same as that of the appointment of the Lawgivers in Greece (§ 126) and was probably copied from that. The old magistracy, the consuls and even the tribunes, ceased to be; the decemviri were given the entire direction of the state. They were to be elected yearly. But after two years the experiment did not succeed and the old administrative officers with the tribunes returned. Yet the laws had been published, and that was a great gain for the plebeians. In con-vec-

The
Decemvirs
and the
Law of the
XII Tables.

* This assembly was called the *Concilium Plebis*, i.e., "the Council of the Plebeians."

tion with the return to the old order, they reaped other important benefits. Their assembly became, after no long time, a legal body, having a right to make laws; the whole people was organized into local tribes, some twenty in number, and was gathered into it; it was called the *Comitia Tributa*. In each tribe every man's vote, whether patrician or plebeian, was equal to every other, and the majority of votes determined the vote of the tribe. The tribune became a regular magistrate, able to recommend legislation to the people; his power of veto was extended and regulated. A little later the right of inter-marriage (*connubium*) between plebeians and patricians was secured. Nothing now seemed to stand in the way of the plebeians obtaining entrance to the highest offices in the state.

The
Comitia
Tributa.

The New
Tribune.

Inter-
marriage.

Some of the Laws of the Twelve Tables are as follows :

One who has confessed a debt or against whom judgment has been pronounced, shall have thirty days in which to pay it.

Unless he pays the amount of the judgment, or someone in the presence of the magistrate interferes in his behalf (as *vindex*), the creditor is to take him home and fasten him in stocks or fetters. He is to fasten him with no less than fifteen pounds weight, or if he choose, with more.

If a father sells his son three times, the son shall be free from the power of the father.

Whenever a contract or conveyance is made, as it is specified by word of mouth, so let it be binding.

(The owner of the land) must take care of the road. If he does not pave it, (the one having the right of way) may drive his team where he pleases.

If a man maims a limb (of another), unless some agreement is arrived at, he shall be subject to retaliation (*i.e.*, his limb shall be broken).

If a patron defrauds his client, let him be accursed.

Women shall not scratch their cheeks or inflict any wound (on themselves) on account of a funeral (*i.e.*, not show excessive grief).

The Traditional
Series of
Laws.

331. The later Roman traditional story has arranged this struggle of the aristocracy with their opponents in the state in a series of legal enactments secured at specific times under known magistrates. While, probably, the progress was in reality much more irregular and uncertain, this arrangement is convenient and instructive. It is as follows:

509 B.C. The right of Appeal was carried through the comitia centuriata by Valerius Poplicola.

493 B.C. The Secession of the plebeians and the appointment of tribunes.

471 B.C. The Publilian law (of Publius Volero) gave the assembly of the plebeians a legal status and the tribune the right to propose resolutions for adoption there.

451 B.C. The Decemvirs were appointed.

449 B.C. The Valerio-Horatian laws gave the comitia tributa power to enact legislation binding on all the people.

445 B.C. The Canuleian law permitted intermarriage.

444 B.C. Consular tribunes, who may be elected from plebeians as well as from patricians, substituted for consuls elected from patricians only. This arrangement was only for a short time.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome.

2. ROME'S WESTERN EMPIRE. Preliminary Survey: (task of the aristocratic government. Three periods of the history). (1) Rome's defence—date—character of the new government (officials, powers, citizens, assembly, senate)—wars with mountaineers and Etruscans, history and legend—problem of the officials, division of powers, ambitious leaders—problem of the plebeians, rebellion, tribunes, assembly, decemvirs—laws of XII tables—the legal tradition of all this.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. The three divisions of the new period with dates. 2. What is meant by imperium, century, con-nubium, right of appeal? 3. State briefly the position and power of the censor, the quæstor. 4. Distinguish between the two periods in the history of the tribune. 5. What was the traditional date of the Decemvirate?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the laws of the twelve tables here given with those of the code of Hammurabi (§ 37). 2. Compare the Decemvirate with the Greek Lawgivers (§§ 125-126) in origin, purpose and results of work.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The New Aristocratic Republic: General View of its Constitutional History to 390 B.C. Shuckburgh, ch. 8; West, pp. 279-288; Abbott, pp. 24-34. 2. General View of its External History. Shuckburgh, chs. 6, 7; How and Leigh, chs. 7, 10. 3. The Consul. How and Leigh, pp. 47-50; Shuckburgh, pp. 203-205; Abbott, p. 25. 4. The Tribune. Abbott, pp. 196-202. 5. The Decemvirate. Abbott, pp. 30-31; How and Leigh, ch. 8. 6. The Roman Citizen, His Rights and Duties. Morey, pp. 63-64. 7. The Centuriate Assembly. Abbott, pp. 26-27, 253-259. 8. The Question of the Comitia Tributa. Abbott, pp. 33, 259-261; Myres, p. 77 (note). 9. The Twelve Tables. Munro, pp. 54-55 (source); Shuckburgh, pp. 101-104.

(2) THE UNION OF ITALY UNDER ROME

390-265 B.C.

332. During the latter part of the preceding century swarms of Kelts had been pouring down from central Europe over the Alpine passes into the valley of the Po. They filled it to overflowing, drove the Ligurians back into the western hills and the Etruscans into the western plain, and began to push southward over the Apennines. We have already seen them forcing their way into Greece and Asia Minor, though at a later period (§ 284). They

The Keltic
Invasion.

Burning
of Rome.

were rude, savage warriors, of huge bulk, with mighty weapons, attacking their opponents with an impetuous fury that usually carried all before it. Soon they appeared in the western plain, attracted by the fertility of the soil and the wealth of the inhabitants. Etruria was overrun; a bold band appeared in the vicinity of Rome, defeated the Roman army, captured and burned the city (about 390 B.C.).

The story goes that Roman ambassadors, sent into Etruria to treat with the oncoming Kelts, had joined with the Etruscans in fighting against them. Incensed at this, the Kelts under their chief, Brennus, advanced rapidly on Rome. The Romans, unprepared, hastily gathered a force and met the invaders eleven miles from Rome, at the river Allia, and were utterly defeated. A few escaped into the citadel, leaving the gates of the city open. The Kelts entered the city abandoned by all except the defenders of the citadel and the senators sitting in state in their porches. The city was set on fire and the citadel besieged. Once it was almost captured by night, only the sacred geese by cackling and clapping their wings aroused the defenders in time. The scattered Romans were united under a leader, Camillus, who was made Dictator. The Kelts were driven out. Then the city was rebuilt.

Rome's
Rapid
Recovery.

333. Rome's day of power seemed over. It might have been so, had the Keltic fury burst upon her alone. But other states had suffered in north and south. When Rome recovered and had rebuilt the city, she was still as strong as her neighbors and was eager to fight again with the invaders. The danger from the Kelts was serious. Their bands were constantly coming over the Apennines. It was the question of questions whether they would not overpower all Italy. For forty years, from 390 to 350 B.C., the peril was pressing. The Romans stood in the breach and, for at least five times in those years, they met and

repulsed Keltic raids. Thus the Romans really saved all that Italy had gained in political power and civilization from being destroyed. The other states recognized this; Rome came to be regarded as the defender of the states of the western plain against attacks. People outside of Italy heard of it. The Greek philosopher Aristotle (§ 276) knew of her gallant defence against the Kelts. From this time on, she ceased to be a mere petty state, fighting with neighbors, and stepped into the larger history of the world.

Stands as
Defender
of Italy.

334. During those forty years Rome finally overcame the neighboring states with which she had fought so long. Etruria, as far north as the Ciminian forest, the Latin cities, and even the Volsci, were united under Roman leadership. The river Liris was Rome's southern boundary. Soon that was crossed and Campania was entered. This advance meant war with the Samnites.

Etruria
Won.

335. The advance of the Kelts southward had affected not only the people of the plain but also the mountaineers. They had been pushed on and had crowded the southern tribes. Chief among the people that felt this pressure were the Samnites, a strong and warlike confederacy, possessing greater power and unity than any mountain peoples hitherto met by Rome. They naturally fell upon the plain beneath them, the populous and fertile Campania. The Campanians appealed to Rome for aid and offered to accept Roman authority. Commercial interests united with ambition to lead the Romans to accept the offer and oppose the Samnites. The war that followed was long and trying, broken by intervals of peace; it lasted for half a century (343-290 B.C.) and drew almost all the states of central and southern Italy into its toils. The first

Wars with
the Sam-
nites.

First War.

The Latin
Revolt.

Second
War.

Third War.

Victory of
Rome.

Difficulties
with
Magna
Græcia.

contest was short (343-341 B.C.); the peace that followed gave Rome the headship of Campania. The next fifteen years saw the crushing of a rebellion in Latium, the cities of which began to fear that Rome was growing too strong. In 326 B.C. war broke out again with the Samnites. After a severe defeat at the battle of the Caudine Forks, where their soldiers were compelled to pass under a yoke made of three spears as a token of disgraceful submission, the Romans steadily gained. The Samnites stirred up the people of the plain who feared Rome's growing power; the Etruscans joined them and the Umbrians of the upper Apennines; but Roman valor triumphed and peace again marked Rome's success in 304 B.C. The reappearance of the Kelts stirred up the third struggle, in which Etruscans, Umbrians, Lucanians and Kelts united under Samnite direction for a final attempt to break Roman headship (298 B.C.). The culminating point was the battle of Sentinum (295 B.C.), in Umbria, where the soldiers of the alliance were beaten by the Romans. The treaty which ended the war in 290 B.C. settled Rome's superiority. Roman authority was now supreme from the upper Apennines to the foot of Italy. The mountaineers would never more trouble the plain.

336. Rome's sphere of influence now bordered on the territory of the Greek cities in southern Italy. The influence of Greek culture and political life upon Rome had already been considerable and the opportunities of commercial intercourse had brought both parties into friendly relations. Some time before 300 B.C. a treaty between Rome and Tarentum had been made. Thus, when the mountaineers, defeated in the western plain, began to make inroads into Magna Græcia, it was natural that

several of the Greek cities should look to Rome for defence. But Tarentum was not so inclined; as Rome gained headship over the other Greek cities by relieving them from their enemies, she took offence. How she gained the help of the valiant Pyrrhus of Epirus has already been told (§ 283). In the war that followed (281-272 B.C.), the skilful Greek general at first defeated the Romans by his elephants and his cavalry. But at last he was beaten at Beneventum and returned to Epirus, leaving Tarentum to make terms with Rome as best she could. She submitted and Roman power soon became supreme over all the southern coast of Italy (270 B.C.).

War with
Pyrrhus.

337. This period of more than a century, in which Rome extended her sway in Italy, was marked by some important changes in her inner life. The progress of the plebeians toward political supremacy (§§ 329-330) continued. So far as the offices were concerned, they succeeded in obtaining entrance, first to one of the consulships, then to both, then to all the offices hitherto reserved to the patricians. Soon even the pontifices and the augurs could be chosen from among them. As for their legislative power in the comitia tributa (§ 330), it was established as supreme even over the senate; the latter now gave its assent beforehand to laws proposed by the people in this assembly. Finally, even this assent was not required.

During
these Wars
the
Plebeians
Enlarge
Their
Political
Power.

338. The tradition has preserved these changes in a series of legal enactments as follows:

The Traditional
Series of
Laws.

367 B.C. The laws proposed by Licinius and Sextus provided that at least one consul should be plebeian and that ten priests should have charge of the Sibylline books (§ 315), half of whom should be plebeians. Other parts of this legislation relate to limitations on

the holding of land, interest on debts and the employment of slave labor.

339 B.C. The Publilian law (of Publius Philo) provided that the assent of the senate to the measures of the comitia should be given beforehand.

300 B.C. The Ogulnian law provided that a certain number of places in the pontificate and augurate should be held by plebeians.

287 B.C. The Hortensian law provided that the assent of the senate to laws of the comitia was not required.

Political
Unity of the
Citizen
Body
Secured,

But Rise of
Other Dis-
tinctions,

339. The truth is that the old distinction between patrician and plebeian was practically wiped out. The Roman state was now one people. Opportunity for more people to take part in public affairs was given by the action of Appius Claudius, the censor, in 312 B.C. He enrolled in the tribes those whose property was not in land and even well-to-do freedmen, thus giving to them the same citizen rights as the landed proprietors. It was another step toward general political equality. But right along with the removal of the distinction made by blood arose another made by wealth and official position. Commerce and war had given many plebeians riches, while many others had become poor. It soon came to be the rule that, though all plebeians were eligible, only rich men should be chosen for public office. The officials when their term of office expired went into the senate,* which, therefore, was a body of wealthy men who had experience in political and military affairs. Wealth, coupled with wisdom, has the best chance for leadership; hence it very naturally came about that the senate took the direction of affairs, although the people

*The restriction to ex-officials in the choice of senators was established by the Ovinian law, by which also the censor was substituted for the consul as the official who appointed the senators. This law dates from some time before 312 B.C.

had the power. The oligarchy of wealth and official position occupied the place of the oligarchy of birth; the people accepted the change and continued to be led.

A New
Oligarchy.

340. No less remarkable than the gradual extension of Roman power over the territory of Italy was Rome's organization of the lands acknowledging its headship. Rome's membership in the Latin League at the beginning of its career was a determining factor in its policy toward neighbors; the city stood as a chief among equals, not as a conqueror ruling subjects.

Roman Or-
ganization
of Italy.

The
Principle.

341. In harmony with this fundamental idea the Romans, first of all, made many of the communities they absorbed parts of the Roman state and their people citizens. At first and for a long time to be a Roman citizen involved more burdens than privileges. Citizens had to serve in the armies and pay taxes; we have seen the hardships that these brought in their train (§ 329). Some communities had all the obligations of citizens forced upon them, without obtaining in return the privilege of the franchise.* Romans were sent out to form colonies at important points on the western coast or to settle on public lands; such colonists retained their citizenship. As a result of these various measures, groups of Roman citizens were found scattered all over Italy. At the end of this period, those with full rights numbered not far from 300,000 people and occupied about a third of all the territory of Italy. They were organized into thirty-five tribes, meeting and voting in the comitia. As for the local government of these communities, this was largely in their

Incorporation of
Conquered
People as
Citizens.

Roman
Colonies.

*This was called the *Cæritian* right, because it had been first applied in the case of the Etruscan city of *Cære*. Such cities were called *municipia*, *i.e.*, "the takers up of burdens"—a characteristic title!

Prefects.

own hands and was formed on Roman models. But in the case of the administration of justice, prefects were sent out from Rome to hold court in the municipia at regular times, since Roman law was new to them. Likewise, where districts in which no cities existed were taken into the Roman state, Roman prefects were placed in charge.

Allied
States.

Latin
Colonies.

Italian
Allies.

342. Other communities were made "allies and friends." They had neither the rights nor the obligations of citizens. The most favored allies were those given rights enjoyed formerly by the old Latin League, which had now disappeared. The members could trade with Rome and marry into Roman families.* Many colonies were sent out from Rome under this system to occupy strategic positions. These were called "Latin Colonies." A Roman who went out to join a "Latin colony" gave up his citizenship,† but, in addition to the privileges already mentioned, could share in the booty of Roman wars and claim his part of the public land. In course of time these privileges were somewhat restricted, but the "Latin colony" was always on a higher plane than other allied communities. Next below these were the Italian allies, each of which had a separate treaty with Rome defining its status. All allies of whatsoever status could have relations with each other only through Rome. While they had independence so far as home politics was concerned, Rome decided on all foreign affairs, matters of war and peace and questions relating to their commercial interests. Each ally furnished troops to the Roman army.

* These rights were technically called *commercium* and *connubium*.

† As citizenship at this time carried with it heavy burdens, the privilege of relinquishing it was really a "bonus" offered to those who were willing to leave the city to go to a "Latin colony."

343. Thus was slowly and steadily built up a united Italy with its centre and soul in Rome. The state itself, made up of the capital city, the Roman colonies and the municipia, was bound up closely with the allies, both those given the Latin right and those having separate treaties with Rome. The interests of all gathered about the capital, yet a large share of local independence preserved the sense of freedom and the power of initiative. The system of public roads leading from the city to strategic points aided in binding these cities to Rome. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that, as this period drew to a close, a common name arose both for land and people. The defence against the alien Kelts stimulated this sense of oneness. The land was now called Italy, and the people of Italy, distinguishing their common dress from that of the Kelts, were called "men of the toga."

Italy
United
under
Rome.

Roads.

The
Common
Name.

344. During the years in which the union of Italy was accomplished, important advances were made in the Roman military organization. The old Servian system (§ 316) was not equal to the new demands, either in its conditions of service or its organization. Instead of requiring the citizen to equip and support himself, the state now supplied him arms and rations and paid him for his service. He was also usually granted a share of the booty, although in theory all that was taken belonged to the state and was turned into the public treasury. As respects organization, the arrangement of the men in the legion according to property gave way to that according to valor, ability and experience. The solid phalanx on the Greek model was found unable to stand the fierce rushes of the Kelts and the Samnites, and was altered to a loose formation. The legion was divided into three lines,

Military
Reorgani-
zation.

**The New
Order of
the Legion.**

separated sharply from each other. Each line was made up of ten companies called maniples. Each maniple of the first two lines had a front of twenty men and a depth of six men (the third had a depth of three men), and each was separated from the other by a space of at least its own width. The maniples of the second line were placed so as to face the spaces made by the first line; and those of the third line faced the spaces left by the second. In battle, the first line, if beaten back, could retire into the space left in the second line, which then took up the attack, while the third line, which was composed of the most able and experienced veterans, could if necessary advance through the openings and permit the other lines to retire. Behind each line was a body of maniples of light-armed troops two men deep, making 4,200 men in the legion. The soldiers were armed with helmets, cuirasses and shields for defence, and with swords, lances, pikes and javelins for attack. The allied troops fought on each side of the legion. The cavalry, placed outside the wings, was insignificant in numbers and played no great part. To avoid a sudden attack a Roman army made a fortified camp whenever it halted for the night. Every voting citizen between the ages of seventeen and forty-six was liable to be levied for military service; he must take the solemn military oath before the gods and was then entirely under the authority of the commander, who exacted absolute obedience and had the power of life and death. The discipline was exceedingly severe. A great victory was the occasion of celebrating a triumph, providing that the senate gave its consent. In solemn and splendid procession, attended by magistrates and senators, the spoils of war before him, the victorious general, seated

The Camp.

The Oath.

**The
Triumph.**

on a chariot, a laurel crown on his head, and his face painted red like the gods, rode into the city at the head of his troops to the temple of Jupiter, where he offered thanksgiving.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome.

2. ROME'S WESTERN EMPIRE.

(1) Rome's defence against neighbors. (2) Union of Italy under Rome. The Keltic invasion—Rome's defence and its significance—winning of Etruria—wars with Samnites (first war, Latin revolt, second war, third war)—wars with Magna Græcia—Pyrrhus—internal development—growth of Plebeian power—laws—unity in the state—rise of new distinctions—organization of Italy under Rome (conquered made citizens—Roman colonies—others made allies—Latin colonies—other means of union—common name)—military reorganization—camp—oath—triumph.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what were the following noted: Sentinum, Cære, Beneventum, Aristotle? 2. What is meant by "men of the toga," Licinian laws, municipium, maniple?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare a "Latin" with a "Roman" colony. 2. Compare both with a Greek colony (§ 114).

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. **Camillus and the Story of the Keltic Invasion.** Plutarch, *Life of Camillus*; Seignobos, pp. 60-64. 2. **The Samnite Wars.** Myres, chs. 10-11. 3. **The Latin Revolt.** Shuckburgh, pp. 131-133; How and Leigh, pp. 102-105. 4. **Pyrrhus from the Greek and from the Roman Point of View.** 5. **History of the Plebeian Struggle after 390 B.C.** Abbott, pp. 34-53; Shuckburgh, ch. 13; Myres, ch. 9; Fowler, *City State*, ch. 7. 6. **The Licinian Laws: Special Study.** Munro, pp. 57-60 (sources); Botsford, pp. 85-86; Abbott, pp. 36-37; How and Leigh, ch. 12. 7. **Roman Organization of Italy.** Abbott, pp. 57-60; Botsford, pp. 62-63; Myres, pp. 146-149. 8. **The Roman Army.** Seignobos, ch. 7; Shuckburgh, pp. 214-218.

The Old
Roman
Life.

345. This age saw old Roman life at its highest point of strength and achievement. It was to suffer an almost complete transformation as Rome expanded. We may pause, therefore, to sketch some of its characteristic features.

Occupations.

Agriculture.

Industry.

Business.

346. The Roman was devoted chiefly to agriculture. At first, cattle-raising, later, the growing of grain, occupied him. The product of his farm was principally wheat, but he also grew vegetables and fruit. The olive was widely cultivated. Of domestic animals he had cattle, horses, sheep and hogs. The farmer with his sons did the work, for the farms were usually small. Every eighth day was a market-day, when the farmer went to town with his produce. In the city industry was well advanced. The workingmen had already organized into unions or guilds for the purpose of handing down the secrets of their craft from generation to generation. Eight of these unions are known—the goldsmiths, the coppersmiths, the dyers, the fullers (laundrymen), the shoemakers, the carpenters, the potters and the flute-blowers. Trading and commerce were profitable employments, but they were not highly regarded by the Romans. The same was true of the Greeks (§ 176). No independent class of merchants or tradesmen was ever formed. This fact shows how dear to the Roman heart were the pursuits of agriculture. Yet the profits of commerce attracted the better classes who had capital and wanted to increase it rapidly; unwilling to mix in commerce themselves, they employed slaves or dependent freedmen to carry on such pursuits in their interest. Thus the business of Rome fell largely into the hands of such classes and became still more unworthy of freemen.



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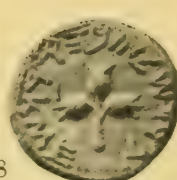
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TYPICAL COINS



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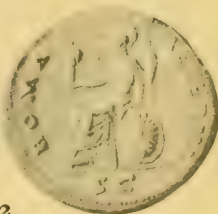
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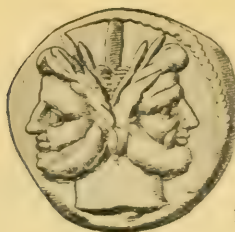
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TYPICAL COINS

347. The standard of business value in the earliest time was cattle, as is shown by the Latin word for money, *pecunia* (from *pecus*, "cattle"). But soon a change to copper took place; it is witnessed to by our word "estimate" (Latin *æstimare*), from *æs*, "copper." A pound of it cast in a mould was called an *as* and became the unit of Roman coinage. When Rome had united all Italy, a silver coinage was introduced. In 269 B.C. the silver *denarius*, equal to ten asses, appeared.* Money.

348. As might be expected of a community composed chiefly of farmers, Roman life was simple and rude. The house originally consisted of one room, the *atrium*, in which all the family lived. It had no windows and but one door. Opposite the door was the hearth. An opening in the centre of the roof let the smoke out and the light and rain in. The latter fell into a hollow in the floor just beneath the opening. In time, this primitive house was enlarged on the sides and in the rear. The walls were built of stone or sun-baked brick covered with stucco; the floor was of earth mixed with stone and fragments of pottery pounded down hard; the roof of thatch, shingles, or tile. A couch, table and stool constituted the furniture. The lamp was a flat, covered vessel holding oil; through a hole in the top a coarse wick was drawn, whence came a feeble, flickering light. In cold weather a box containing hot coals supplied heat. At meal-time the family sat on stools around the table. Dinner was served in the middle of the day. The chief food in early times was ground meal boiled with water. Thus the Roman, like the Scotch- The House.

Furniture.

Food.

* Later the *denarius* was equal to sixteen asses. The *sestertius* was one-fourth of the *denarius*. A sum of money equal to one thousand *sestertii* was called *sestertium*.

man, grew strong on porridge. Pork was the favorite meat; eight Latin words for hog and half a dozen for sausage testify to this. Bread of wheat or barley was baked in flat round cakes. Olive-oil, cheese and honey were used with it. The usual drink was water or milk. Wine was not common. When drunk it was mixed with water. Various vegetables, such as beans, onions, cabbages and turnips, and fruits, such as figs, apples, pears and plums, were cultivated. The frugality of the Roman in his food was matched by the simplicity of his dress. About his loins he wore a strip of cloth over which he drew a short-sleeved woollen shirt or tunic reaching to his knees. This was the ordinary dress while at home. When he appeared in public, he threw over this shirt a gracefully folded blanket of white wool called a *toga*. It was this which became his characteristic garment, distinguishing him from all other men. In bad weather or on a journey a cloak might be worn. The women's garments consisted of two tunics for the house and a wrap (*palla*) for the street. Neither sex wore hats or stockings. The feet were protected by sandals or shoes. The hair and beard were worn long in early times, but, later, men shaved their faces and cut their hair close. Professional barbers appeared in Rome about 300 B.C. Every citizen wore a seal-ring on the joint of the finger; women were granted greater privileges in the matter of jewelry and they were very fond of display. Their hair was put up elaborately; they had fans, parasols and all sorts of rings, bracelets, chains and breastpins.

Jewelry.

Amuse-
ments.

349. Amusements had also their place in old Roman life. Babies played with rattles; children with dolls, carts, tops and hoops. When childish sports were put away, the young Roman found his amusement in the athletic exercises

of the Campus Martius, in running, wrestling and feats of arms. These were, however, training for citizenship and service; it has been well said that the Romans had no idea of sport for sport's sake. Life was too stern and strenuous. For relaxation they turned to exciting spectacles, of which the chief were the chariot races. They were run in the Circus Maximus, which lay between the Palatine and the Aventine, over a narrow elliptical course covered with sand; seven laps, about four miles, were run; the turns were sharp and dangerous; chariots were liable to be smashed and drivers killed; all this raised excitement to fever heat. But no Roman participated except as a spectator; freedmen or slaves acted as charioteers. The same was true of the theatrical exhibitions. The stage in the Circus, which was erected in 364 B.C., was occupied by persons whom the Romans regarded as disreputable; to dance or to play in public was the part of foreigners or slaves. To the unbending, respectable, dignified Roman the point of view of the Greek (§§ 138, 157, 186) regarding all these things was incomprehensible and disgraceful. He would condescend to laugh, but would not dream of taking part.

Athletics.

The
Races.

The
Theatre.

350. The centre about which old Roman life revolved was the family. Its head was the *paterfamilias* ("father of the family"), the oldest male member, who had absolute power over the person and property of the other members, whether wife, sons and their families, or unmarried daughters. A new-born child was laid at his feet, and by taking it up he decided that it should be received into the family. Otherwise it was carried away and abandoned. When a daughter was married, she passed under the authority of her husband's father. A son must marry at the bidding of his father; his position in the state was dependent on

The
Family.

The
Father's
Power.

the father. Of course these powers of the father were practically limited; a wife could not be divorced nor a child put to death by him without good cause and after consultation with other members of the family; nor could the family property be disposed of arbitrarily. Marriage was a religious as well as a civic affair; a solemn betrothal preceded, sealed by a ring placed on the third finger of the left hand; the consent of the bride was required; the marriage ceremony consisted of the joining of hands, the signing of a contract, sacrifices by the religious officials, and other ceremonials. On the wedding-day the mother dressed the bride, who wore a veil; the husband went through a form of taking her by force from her father's house; a wedding-feast and a bridal procession were features of the affair. The bride brought a dowry to her husband. A matron at Rome, in contrast with Greek custom (§ 179), held a very important position. She managed the household, trained her children, received her guests in person, was honored in public, was given a special place at entertainments, engaged in special religious festivals, could give testimony in the courts. It has been said that marriage gave the Roman woman "a position unattained by the women of any other nation in the ancient world." Children, particularly sons, were highly prized and carefully trained. On the son depended the future of the family. The day of the giving the boy his name * was a festal time in which an amulet (*bullā*) was hung about his neck and presents were made. If a family had no son, one might be formally adopted and he became in all re-

Marriage.

The Mother.

Children.

Adoption.

* First of all, he bore the name of the house (*gens*); this was the *nomen*. Preceding this came the personal name (*prænomen*) given a few days after birth. Following the *nomen* was the *cognomen* or family name.

spects a member of the family and took the family name in addition to his own.

351. All these facts help us to see how fundamentally important the family was at Rome. It included the dead as well as the living, all bound together in one solemn unity. On the preservation of the family depended the continuance of the sacrificial rites in which living and dead were thought to join. Hence the birth and rearing of children was all-important. In the atrium (§ 348) stood the wax images of the dead to remind the living of the abiding tie of relationship. The paterfamilias received his authority over the family as its representative, the trustee of its property, the pledge of its continuance. Thus the importance of any individual member was subordinate to and sunk in the higher unity of the whole. Obedience and service were the watchwords; devotion to the interests of the family was superior to all personal advantage. No wonder that under this training men of honor and fidelity, women of discretion and purity, grew up to serve and glorify their fatherland.

Importance
of the Fam-
ily in
Roman
Life.

Superior
to the
Individual.

352. Education corresponded to the thoroughly practical bent of the Roman character. Up to seven years of age the children were trained at home by the mother. Then the boy was sent to school, while the girl was kept at home to be further instructed in domestic arts. Roman women were not highly educated, yet the liberty they enjoyed, the companionship of their husbands and family and the respect shown them in society were in themselves an education. It is said that they spoke the best and purest Latin. Boys were sent to private schools. They were attended by a slave (called "pedagogue") and were taught by slaves or freedmen the rudiments of education in reading, writing

Education.

Of Girls.

Of Boys.

and arithmetic. Work began before sunrise. The teacher was paid a small fee and the discipline was harsh. No text-books were used, except that the code of the Twelve Tables (§ 330) was read, written and committed to memory. It is claimed that, although higher subjects were not taught, the elements at least of education were more generally diffused among the Romans than elsewhere in antiquity.

Public Life.

353. The participation in public life was also educative. The youth at about seventeen years of age attained his majority and began his public career; he laid aside his *toga prætexta* and assumed the *toga virilis*; surrounded by his family and friends he went to the Forum and, amid congratulations, his name was enrolled on the list of citizens and he was free to attend the several comitia. On a favorable day the comitia convened by order of the magistrate. The proper sacrifices were made. The magistrate made known the purpose of the assembly; only those could speak to whom he gave permission. Each citizen gave his vote orally in the group to which he belonged; the decision of the majority in the group determined its vote, which then was counted as one in determining the final vote of the groups. ✓ The meeting closed before sunset and could be adjourned by the magistrate at any time, should he regard the omens as unfavorable. The citizen was constantly under the strict surveillance of the authorities.

Admission
to Citizen-
ship.

The
Assembly.

The State
Superior to
the Indi-
vidual.

Importance
of Law.

✓ The censor (§ 328) examined into his private life and punished any breaches of social custom by fines or even suspension from civic rights. In the administration of justice he appeared before judicial officers, such as the prætors; no lawyers existed; plaintiff and defendant must plead their own causes; the magistrate acting under

the written law of the Twelve Tables interpreted its application and issued his judgment. An appeal might be taken to the comitia. Private persons were sometimes appointed by the magistrate to hear cases and give decisions. Out of all this procedure came in course of time the body of public and private law which is one of Rome's chief glories.

354. In the higher ranges of art and science we must not expect old Rome to excel. Its science was practical like all the rest of its works. The year consisted of twelve months; it began in March. The days of the month were indicated by their relation to the moon's changes. The day of the new moon, the beginning of the month, was called the *Kalends*;* the day of the full moon, the middle of the month, the *Ides*; the ninth day before the Ides was the *Nones*; the other days were named by reckoning from these fixed points. All the days of the year were given a special religious significance, either good or bad. Business could be done only on the good days, which made up more than two-thirds of the year. In 304 B.C. a calendar on which the character of the days was indicated was published. The whole arrangement was quite imperfect. In architecture the most characteristic achievements were the roads, the bridges and the aqueducts, which began to be built on a grand scale. The arch had a great history at Rome. The chief priesthood had a name which connected it with bridge-building (pontifices). The solidity of the Roman character was already reflected in the architecture. In decorative and plastic art but a few beginnings had been made. The bronze wolf in the Forum and the bronze Jupiter of the Capitol date from about 290 B.C.;

Science:
its
Practical
Character.

The
Calendar.

Architect-
ure.

Other
Art.

* Whence comes our "Calendar."

the stone sarcophagus of Scipio, from about the same period, was a simple but strong work. A beautiful casket of like date illustrates as do the other works of art the source of the artistic impulse; Greeks were the teachers of Rome in these things. The beginnings of painting belong also to this same age. Literature was even less advanced. The laws of the Twelve Tables constituted the one Roman book. Ballads and heroic poems in a rude metre were sung, but were as yet unwritten. Some public records, lists of magistrates, religious rituals and the like—these alone constituted the barren Roman literature of the time.

Literature.

Morals
and
Religion.

Sense of
Duty.

Form and
Spirit of
Religion.

355. The rude, severe and scrupulous temper of the old Roman is revealed in his moral standards and religious life. Much of it has appeared in what has already been told—the power of the father, the subordination of the individual to family and state, the exposure of new-born children, the position of the slave in the household, a mere unhuman chattel. In its worthiest manifestation this old Roman spirit showed itself in the conviction that everyone had his place and work in the community. Let a man do his work in the sphere in which he is born; be it father, son or slave, be it patron or client, be it consul or soldier in the ranks—let him not seek to be above his place and work or fall beneath it. Religion was still of the type which has been described (§§ 314-315); everywhere the divine powers were present and their relations to man were worked out in greater detail and their favorable action secured by complex rituals. Still lived the profound faith in the fidelity of the gods to their word and the corresponding obligation and opportunity of man to do his part toward them. This reaches its highest point in the

voluntary self-sacrifice of the individual for the interest of the state—the *devotio*, as it was called.

In a decisive battle of the Samnite war the consul, Publius Decius Mus, saw his legions broken and fleeing before the enemy. Whereupon he called to himself the priest and charged him to utter the solemn formula whereby a victim was devoted. The words having been uttered, he cried out that he drove before him fear and fright, slaughter and blood and the wrath of gods above and below, and that with the contagion of the Furies, ministers of death, he infected the standards and the arms of the enemy. With this curse, and conscious that, like his fathers, he offered himself as a victim to ward off the peril from his country, he spurred forward his horse where the enemy's force was thickest and found death at the points of their spears.

356. The broadening of life, as this period draws to a close, is shown in one of the famous men of the time, Appius Claudius, the censor. It was he who built the first Roman road, the Appian Way, which led southward to Campania; the first aqueduct, likewise, was his work. He was also a patron of letters; to him are ascribed written speeches, wise maxims, and the first collection of legal decisions. Even the study of grammar looks back to him. Other men followed in his footsteps. Rome, the head of Italy, rose from provincial manners and customs to be a cosmopolitan city. She was at the turning of the ways. Soon Greek learning and manners would come in like a flood and the old Rome disappear forever.

A Type:
Appius
Claudius.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome.
2. ROME'S WESTERN EMPIRE. (1) Rome's defence against neighbors.
(2) Union of Italy under Rome. Roman Life in this Epoch:

(a) Occupations. (b) The house. (c) Food and dress. (d) Amusements. (e) The family. (f) Education. (g) Public life. (h) Science. (i) Art and literature. (j) Morals and religion. (k) Appius Claudius.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. What light on Roman life is thrown by the following: pecunia; toga virilis; devotio? 2. What is meant by denarius, censor, Kalends, atrium, nomen?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the Greek (§§ 176, 177) and Roman estimate of business life. 2. In what did the Roman idea of Amusement differ from the Greek (§§ 110, 118, 138, 180, 183, 184, 186)? 3. Compare the Roman idea of the Family with the Oriental (§ 25). 4. Would a Greek have acted as did Decius Mus (§ 355)? State reasons for or against.

(3) THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE FOR THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

265-200 B.C.

Roman
Responsi-
bility for
Italy.

Threaten-
ing Expan-
sion of
Carthage.

357. Rome was now head of the Italian land, unifier and protector of its peoples. But this high position involved responsibility (1) for the defence of its coasts and (2) for the protection of its commerce. Dangers in both of these directions appeared on account of the expansion of the power of the African city, Carthage. The founding of Carthage and its commercial activity in the western Mediterranean have already been mentioned (§ 323). North Africa as far as the Atlantic was under its authority, as was also a goodly share of Sicily. In that island Carthage had waged long wars with the Greeks for supremacy (§§ 154, 222, 282). Its ships had contested the trade of the Adriatic Sea, with the Greeks of Magna Græcia and

were found in every port of the west. Corsica, Sardinia and portions of the Spanish peninsula were its possessions; while the trade of all Spain was in its hands. Such commercial influence and activity brought immense wealth to the city, and for centuries had given it easily the leading position in the west.

358. As long as Rome was an inland and provincial city, occupied with local affairs, interested in local trade, relations with Carthage had been friendly. Indeed, when Italy had been threatened by the Greeks, led by Pyrrhus (§ 283), Rome and Carthage had formed an alliance. But now the situation was changed. Rome had taken into its possession the Greek cities of Italy and was bound to protect their interests. Thus at this point it came into touch with Carthage's commercial activity. Nor could Carthage, on its part, accept willingly a limitation of its commerce. It is indispensable to every such community to enlarge and strengthen its trade. The one region remaining in the west which could thus be exploited was Italy. Accordingly, it is not strange that Carthaginian pressure upon the Italian peninsula grew greater just at the moment when Rome's duty of protecting Italy became clear to her statesmen. In these circumstances a conflict of interests leading to open war was unavoidable.

Change in
Relations
of Rome
and
Carthage
Unavoid-
able.

359. The occasion that opened the breach was insignificant. Its scene was the contested ground of Sicily. There, after the death of Agathocles of Syracuse (§ 282), a band of his mercenaries, calling themselves Mamertines ("Sons of Mars"), had seized Messina, the Sicilian town nearest Italy, and held it against all comers, until, wearied out by the attacks of Hiero, king of Syracuse, they appealed to Rome. While the appeal was being considered,

Sicily the
Scene of
the First
Breach.

the Carthaginians seized the town. The Romans finally decided to help the Mamertines and despatched a force



which expelled the Carthaginian garrison. Thus war with Carthage was declared (264 B.C.).

The First
Punic
War.

360. This war, called the First Punic * War, lasted for nearly a quarter of a century. It was mostly a series of naval battles, in which the Greek cities of Italy furnished the Romans ships and sailors. In these ships Roman soldiers stubbornly contested the supremacy of the sea with the fleets of Carthage. Sicily was at first the scene of the land struggle, until the Roman consuls crossed over

*“Punic” is a form of “Phœnician.” Carthage was a Phœnician or Punic colony.

to Africa, where, at first successful, they were finally defeated disastrously and the consul Regulus surrendered. Still the Romans fought on by sea and land, year after year, until a great victory at the Ægates islands (242 B.C.) compelled Carthage to ask for peace. It was granted on these terms: Carthage retired from Sicily and the islands between Sicily and Italy; she promised also to pay during a period of ten years 3,200 talents (241 B.C.).

The
Romans
Victorious.

361. But the strength of the Punic city was by no means exhausted; the conflict was sure to break out again when time and resources were favorable to its renewal. Meanwhile Carthage had to suffer a further humiliation in the seizure of Sardinia and Corsica by the Romans and an additional payment of 1,200 talents (238 B.C.). Rome, also, had other difficulties on hand which occupied its attention. The Gauls beyond the Po were causing trouble and a war of several years followed, which resulted in the reduction of all the land between the Alps and the Apennines, the district called Cisalpine Gaul (222 B.C.). The annoyance caused by Illyrian pirates to Roman commerce in the Adriatic brought on the Illyrian war, in which due punishment was inflicted on the aggressors and friendly relations established with the Greek states (§ 295).

Both
Parties
Pause for
Breath.

362. The occasion for the second struggle with Carthage appeared in an unexpected quarter. One of the most skilful Punic generals, Hamilcar, surnamed Barca ("the lightning"), animated by an inextinguishable hatred for Rome, retired to Spain after the first Punic war and there spent nine years in building up a Carthaginian power which might furnish men and money to renew the war with Rome. After his death, his son Hannibal, with splendid vigor and success, carried on his work.

The Punic
Power in
Spain.

Hannibal.

The wild tribes south of the river Ebro were tamed, united and organized into an effective fighting force. Money and munitions of war were collected and a plan of campaign, bold beyond all expectation, was devised. The first step precipitated war. Saguntum, a city in alliance with Rome, was attacked and captured. Then with an

The Second
Punic
War

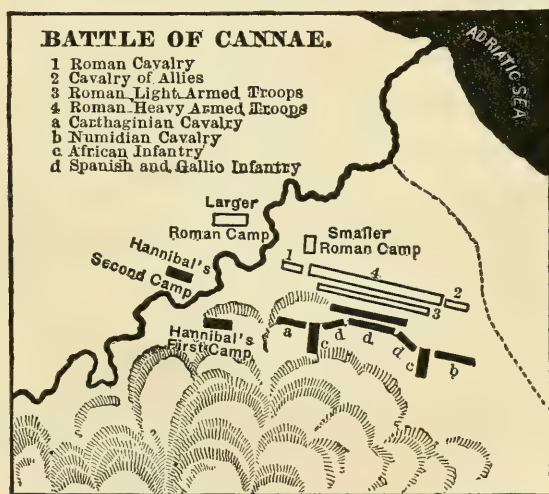
Hannibal
Invades
Italy.

Hannibal
in Italy.

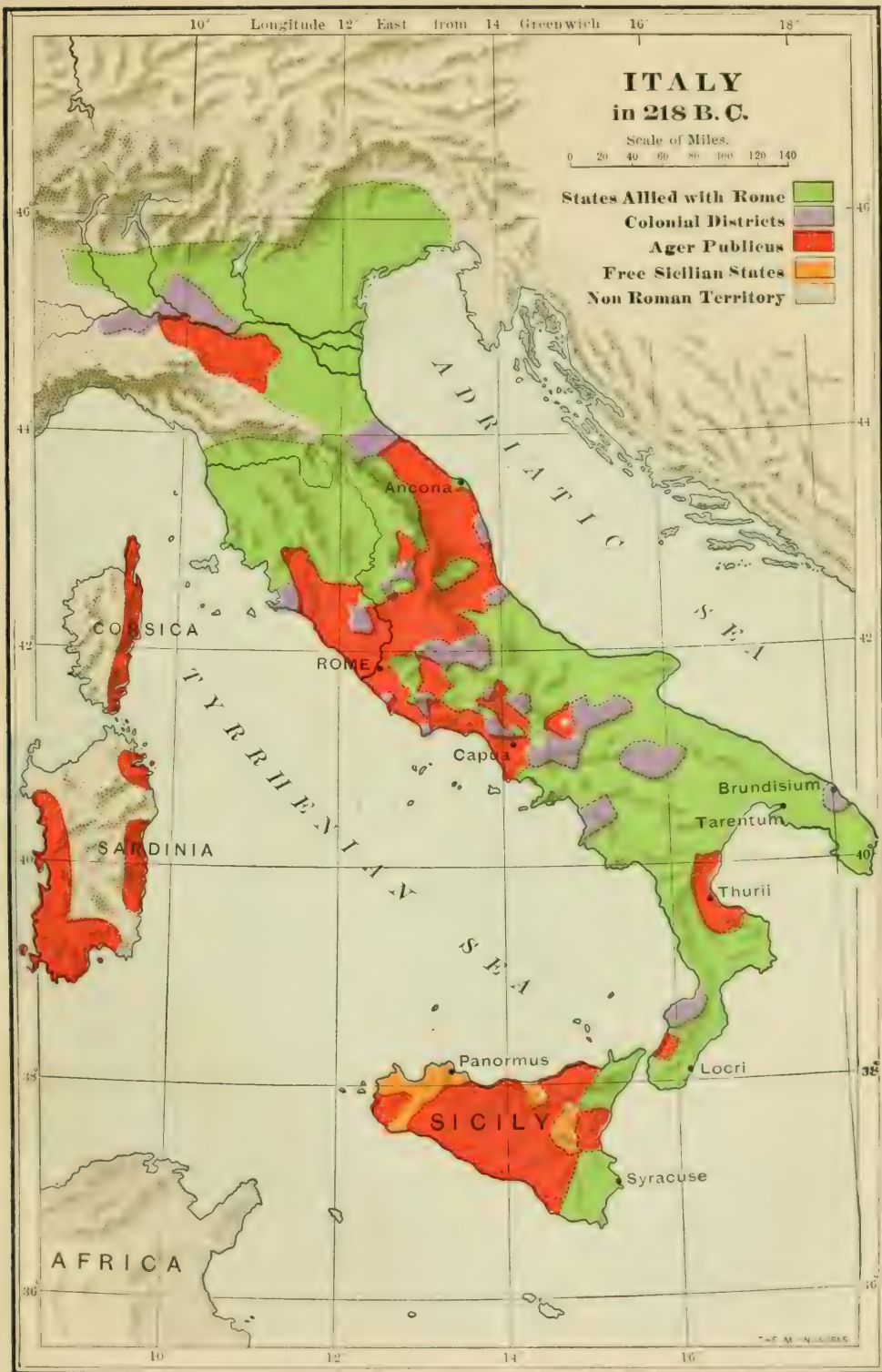
363. And now began a duel to the death, the Second Punic War (218 B.C.). The fate of Rome hung on the

loyalty of the allied cities of Italy. The newly conquered Gauls soon rose and flocked to Hannibal. The Roman army under the consuls was routed at battles on the banks of the rivers Ticinus and the Tre-

Defeat of
Roman
Armies.



bia. The next year (217 B.C.) Hannibal, advancing southward, annihilated another Roman army at Lake Trasimene in Etruria; the consul Flaminius was killed in the battle. Then the Romans in alarm appointed Quintus



Fabius Maximus dictator. He would not give battle, but followed on the heels of Hannibal as he marched down to the southeast ravaging the country. New commanders, the consuls Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro, and a new and great army of more than 80,000 men marched out against him in 216 B.C.; again the Romans were utterly beaten at Cannæ in Apulia; one consul, Varro, and ten thousand men survived the slaughter.

The Disaster of
Cannæ.

364. Rome now appeared on the verge of destruction. The majority of the Roman allies in southern Italy passed over to Hannibal's side—Capua and Tarentum among the rest. In Sicily, Syracuse and its dependencies renounced the Roman alliance. Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, was preparing to follow his brother into Italy. Philip V of Macedonia (§§ 292, 295) made an alliance with Hannibal. But the heroic Roman spirit remained unshaken. An offer of peace by the victor of Cannæ was rejected. Roman generals succeeded in keeping Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, occupied in Spain. An army sent to Syracuse captured that city and restored Roman power in Sicily. War was declared against Philip. Energetic efforts were put forth to recover the rebellious Italian cities, while further pitched battles with Hannibal were avoided. The fortified posts occupied by Roman allies all over the land—the Latin colonies—held firmly by Rome. Thus gradually the sky brightened, while Hannibal's task grew more difficult. He lost Capua in 211 B.C., and a dash at Rome in the same year failed. Tarentum was taken by the Romans in 209 B.C. The crisis of the struggle came when Hasdrubal, eluding the enemy in Spain, started for Italy. Already Rome was near the end of its resources. Twelve Latin colonies announced

The Allies
Desert.

Rome
Hangs on
and the
Tide Turns.

The
Metaurus.

Hannibal
Recalled.

Zama.

The
Punish-
ment of
Carthage.

Causes of
Rome's
Victory.

that they could keep up the struggle no longer. If the two Carthaginian armies could unite, their victory was sure. But in 207 B.C. the army of Hasdrubal was destroyed at the river Metaurus, he himself killed, and his head thrown over the ramparts of his brother's camp. As Hannibal looked upon it, he is said to have declared, "I behold the fate of Carthage." Soon his diminishing army was shut up in the region of Bruttium. Peace was made between Rome and Philip. Spain fell into the hands of Publius Cornelius Scipio, the brilliant young Roman general, who later, in 204 B.C., crossed the sea with an army to carry the war into Africa. Hannibal was recalled to defend his country and was overthrown by Scipio at the battle of Zama (202 B.C.). The war was over; Carthage was ruined, and nothing was left but to seek as favorable terms of peace as possible. They were not too severe; Spain and the Mediterranean islands were given up; the kingdom of Numidia was granted its independence under King Massinissa, and war upon it was forbidden; the fleet was destroyed; a payment of two hundred talents yearly for fifty years was imposed. Thus Carthage, while not destroyed, lost its political and commercial supremacy and became little more than a dependency of Rome.

365. In view of the prestige and power possessed by Carthage, the victory of Rome is remarkable, and its causes worth considering. The Roman state, but just formed out of a variety of communities not yet welded together, crude in its culture, simple in manners and occupations—was confronted by an imperial power of vast wealth, splendid traditions, and commercial superiority, its armies led by the ablest military genius of his time, perhaps of all ancient times. Yet Rome won. The victory illustrates:

1. The superiority of a nation of small farmers to a nation of rich capitalists. The bulk of the Roman territory was divided up into small farms cultivated by their owners; the Carthaginian farms were vast estates cultivated by slaves. Farmers
versus
Capitalists.
 2. The superiority of a political system where the majority are citizens actively interested in the carrying on of the state (Roman democracy) to one in which a small number of men monopolize public affairs to the exclusion of the majority (Carthaginian oligarchy). Democracy
versus
Oligarchy.
 3. The superiority of armies gathered from the citizens and animated by patriotism to those hired from every quarter and attached by love of money and plunder or admiration for an individual leader. Citizens
versus
Mercenary
Armies.
 4. The superiority of a state like Rome growing slowly out of a soil native to it and attaching to itself, by bonds of citizenship and alliance, the cities and states round about it to a state like Carthage, whose founders came from abroad and planted it on foreign soil, where it ruled over an alien population, seeking only to exploit them in the interest of its commerce. The latter can be more easily torn up than the former, the roots of which spread far and wide and go down deep. The Roman state was a unity, pervaded by a common life; Carthage was a unity, artificially held together by external forces, such as strong armies, shrewd rulers, great wealth, brilliant generals, class interests rather than public welfare. A State
Native
versus a
State For-
eign to the
Soil.
366. During this long struggle with a foreign enemy the administration of the Roman state underwent some changes. We have seen that the political strife of patrician and plebeian had ended in the victory of the latter and the harmonizing of all interests in a popular government The Roman
State dur-
ing these
Wars.

Growth of
the
Senate's
Power.

(§§ 337-339). But when war with Carthage came, it was found that a strong administration was necessary to conduct it. The citizens, therefore, let the senate manage affairs, since it was a compact body of the best men in the state and was always at hand in Rome on critical occasions. Thus the senate slowly absorbed the powers of government, which, in theory, belonged to the people. The magistrates, although elected by the people, were guided by the senate and fulfilled its will. This was to mean much in the future, but at present it worked successfully. The firmness and courage with which the senate went about its task of carrying on the war, supplying soldiers, encouraging the people, resisting all appeals for peace until the work was done, is worthy of all praise.

The
Financial
Adminis-
tration.

367. Its solution of two problems is noteworthy. To procure money and supplies for carrying on the war it adopted a curious plan. Instead of organizing a financial system of its own, it sought the aid of wealthy capitalists and merchants and gave the task into their hands. They supplied the money, the ships, the food, the equipment. The state was thus relieved from a great burden of business; but this relief was dearly bought by bringing the state into bondage to these men of wealth. As their operations widened, the dependence of the administration upon them increased. They began to have an undue influence in shaping its policy. They made the state serve their interests.*

The Prob-
lem of
Conquered
Territories.

368. The other problem was the relation of the newly won territories outside of Italy to the Roman state. We have seen that, in bringing Italy under Roman rule, either

*Such men were called *Publicani*, "contractors," whence our word "publican."

the peoples had been made Roman citizens or their relations had been determined by a treaty (§ 342). But when, at the close of the first Punic war, Sicily and Sardinia became Roman, neither of these methods was adopted, but a consul or a prætor (§ 324) was placed in charge of them. This kind of authority, that of a military magistrate dealing with conquered peoples, was called *provincia*, a name which was also given to the territory thus governed. The prætor maintained order and rendered justice in the province; his authority was sustained by a body of Roman soldiers. By this means no new magistrates were appointed nor any new authority created by the Roman administration. The plan worked well enough for a temporary expedient, but the dangers of giving the unlimited authority of a military magistrate to the governor of conquered territories soon became clear as Rome's conquests extended. Of these we shall hear in the coming years.

The
Province.

369. The year 200 B.C. saw Rome the ruler of the western Mediterranean. The regions that had been dominated by Carthage—North Africa, Spain, Sicily, and the other islands—passed under Roman sway. The city, which had successfully united Italy and held it firm against the terrific assaults of Hannibal, had now a larger task, the ruling of the west. Its imperial destiny was becoming clearer. The questions which now pressed for solution were such as these: Was Rome's dominion to be limited to the west? Could Rome succeed in uniting and governing its Empire, as it had succeeded with Italy? In these new imperial tasks was Rome itself to remain unchanged? These questions were soon to have their answer.

Rome
Ruler
of the
West.

New
Problems.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome.

2. ROME'S WESTERN EMPIRE.

(1) Rome's defence against neighbors. (2) Union of Italy under Rome. (3) The Struggle with Carthage for the western Mediterranean (265-200 B.C.). Conflict with Carthage unavoidable—its occasion—first Punic war—the interval—rise of Hannibal—second Punic war (invasion of Italy, Roman defeats, the crisis, recall of Hannibal, Carthage beaten)—causes of Rome's victory (comparisons)—growth of power of senate during the war—the finances—provincial administration—summary.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following noted: Agathocles, Regulus, Fabius Maximus, Philip V, Zama, Metaurus? 2. Name in order the battles of the second Punic war. 3. What is meant by *prætor*, *quæstor*, *ensor*, *provincia*, *punic*, *Latin colony*, *allied state*? 4. What was the duration of this period (dates) and how much of it was taken up with the wars with Carthage?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the Roman province with the provinces of Egypt (§ 45), Assyria (§§ 72, 77) and Persia (§ 87). 2. Compare Hannibal's invasion of Italy with the Persian invasion of Greece (§§ 143, 147-153). 3. "Success is in no way necessary to greatness." Does Hannibal's career justify this assertion?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Carthaginian Empire. West, pp. 313-315; Shuckburgh, pp. 223-232; Myres, pp. 149-152; Horton, pp. 60-63; How and Leigh, pp. 143-149. 2. The First Punic War. Shuckburgh, chs. 18, 19; How and Leigh, ch. 18. 3. The Second Punic War. Shuckburgh, chs. 22-25; Myres, chs. 16-18; How and Leigh, chs. 21, 22. 4. The Story of Regulus. Seignobos, pp. 92-93. 5. Hannibal's March to Italy. Laing, pp. 362-373 (source); Munro, pp. 85-86 (source); Horton, pp. 78-81. 6. The Battle of Cannæ. Laing, pp. 372-380 (source); Morey, pp. 117, 118; Shuckburgh, pp. 323-328; How and Leigh, pp. 194-198. 7. Fabius Maximus. Plutarch's *Life of Fabius*. 8. Han-

nibal as a Man. Laing, pp. 360-362 (source); How and Leigh, pp. 171, 172; Seignobos, p. 99. 9. Hannibal as a General: His Strategy (a) at Trebia, (b) at Ticinus, (c) at Trasimene, (d) at Cannæ—see the histories as referred to above. 10. The Roman Provincial System. Abbott, pp. 88-91; Horton, ch. 14; Morey, pp. 146-148.

3.—ROME'S EASTERN EMPIRE

200-44 B.C.

370. The year 200 B.C. marks the moment when the separate stream of Roman History merges into the main current of the larger history of the world of the east. How rich and splendid in its culture that Greek world had become and how disorganized, selfish and brutal in its politics has already been described (§§ 274, 278, 294). On the ruins of Alexander's dream of universal empire had sprung up the kingdoms of Macedonia, Syria and Egypt, united in culture and ideals of empire, but each warring or intriguing against the others in the endeavor to realize in itself alone this common ideal. Rome's progress, at first only indirectly connected with the eastern world, had steadily moved in the direction of closer relations (§ 295). Hardly had the conflict with Carthage been won, when a war broke out with Macedonia. Thus Rome was involved directly with the politics of the east and could not call a halt until the kingdoms of Macedonia, Syria and Egypt, with the lesser powers of Greece and Asia Minor, became either subjects or allies of Rome. Thus was created an Empire around the Mediterranean sea, from the Atlantic to the Euphrates river. This splendid conquer-

PRELIMINARY
SURVEY.

The
Eastern
Kingdoms.

Rome
Becomes
Lord of
the East.

ing career with its effects on Roman life we are now to follow in detail.

Wars of
Rome with
Macedonia.

371. The war with Philip V of Macedonia that followed his alliance with Hannibal was brought to an end in 205 B.C. by a treaty of peace, that was hardly more than a temporary truce. Philip, however, was the first to violate it by attacking Roman allies in Greece and the east; the Romans were not slow to respond by a declaration of war (200 B.C.). The chief powers of Greece, the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues (§§ 280, 292), joined with them. After two ineffectual years, Titus Quinctius Flaminius led the Roman legions to victory at the battle of Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.), in Thessaly, where against the Roman maniples the Macedonian phalanx as a fighting machine was found wanting. Philip obtained peace at the price of becoming a dependent ally of Rome, losing all territory outside of Macedonia and paying 1,000 talents. As for Greece itself, the Romans declared its several states to be, henceforth, independent of Macedonian authority, which had been imposed on Greece since the battle of Chæroneia (§ 250). All Greece was free once more to work out its own salvation. Rome had no desire to interfere with its affairs and would see to it that no other power did so.

Overthrow
of
Philip V.

Greece
Made Free.

War with
Syria.

372. Antiochus III, king of Syria, however, viewed with increasing disfavor the appearance of Rome in the east. Roman influence opposed him in Egypt and on the coasts of Asia Minor. To him Hannibal had fled after the fall of Carthage and kept his anger hot. Now, upon the overthrow of Macedonia, a suitable time seemed to him to have come to assert his supremacy over Greece. On the invitation of the Ætolian League he entered Greece

(192 B.C.). But in the next year he was defeated and driven out. The following year (190 B.C.) the Roman army under Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the consul, who was aided by his brother, the victor of Zama, crossed into Asia Minor and overthrew the army of Antiochus at Magnesia. The proud king made a humiliating peace, resigned his possessions in Europe and Asia Minor and paid a fine of 15,000 talents. His defeat meant the surrender of Hannibal, but the great general escaped, only to flee from place to place until, in 183 B.C., he ended his own life by poison. The territories taken from Antiochus were handed over to loyal allies; Eumenes, king of Pergamum, received a large share, and his kingdom became, along with Rhodes, a bulwark of Roman influence in the East.

Antiochus
III
Defeated.

373. Eighteen years passed quietly when, in 171 B.C., war broke out a third time in Macedonia. Philip had been followed by his son Perseus, who succeeded in gaining a number of Greek states to unite with him in resisting Rome. They felt that freedom under Roman patronage was not real freedom. But Perseus was not the man to offer a vigorous resistance; in 168 B.C. he was defeated by Lucius Æmilius Paulus at Pydna, where again the Macedonian phalanx was shattered. The king fled with his treasure, but was captured; an immense booty was brought to Rome, where Paulus enjoyed the most splendid "triumph" (§ 344) that the city had ever seen. The state treasury was filled so full that the regular tax upon the citizens was remitted and was not again imposed for more than a century. Macedonia was divided into four separate independent districts allied to Rome; the free states of Greece were severely dealt with. The rebellious leagues of Ætolia and Bœotia were dissolved. The Achæan

Third
Mace-
donian
War.

Pydna.

Settlement
of
Macedonia
and Greece.

League, which had stood loyal, had to send one thousand of its leading citizens to Rome, where they were unjustly detained in practical exile for many years. Among them was Polybius, who afterward wrote a history of Rome. Even the loyal allies of Rome in the east, Pergamum and Rhodes, were treated harshly.

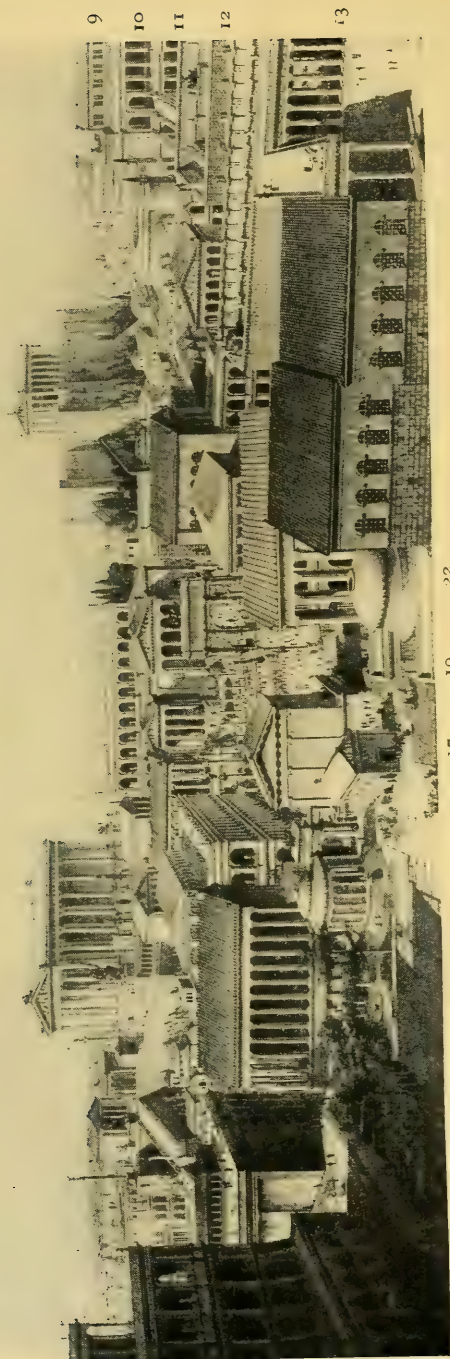
The
Maccabæ-
an Upris-
ing in
Judea.

374. The next twenty years (168-149 B.C.) show Rome at a standstill in eastern affairs. All the eastern powers hung upon the word of the senate, and their ambassadors thronged the senate-house. During these years the Jews burst out in rebellion against Antiochus IV of Syria because he had violated the sanctity of their temple and trampled upon their sacred law. Led by the valiant family called the Maccabees, they heroically and successfully fought off the Syrian armies and sought the aid of Rome, who made a treaty with them, but gave no actual help. At last they secured their independence in 143 B.C., under Simon Maccabæus, and set up a kingdom ruled by members of his family. The greater and lesser powers of the East were falling into decay. The Greek states intrigued and squabbled. The kingdoms of Syria and Egypt were rent by internal quarrels. Rome stood grimly by and waited, vexed by the continual appeals for her aid, yet unready to take active steps for interference.

The
Roman
Attitude
toward the
Eastern
Powers.

375. Thus far Rome had been drawn on into the affairs of the east with hesitation and uncertainty. The troubles with Macedonia and Syria had not been of her making; she had avoided responsibility wherever possible; the conquered lands had not been absorbed, but left as dependents or allies. Moreover, the weaker powers were constantly seeking her aid or protection against their more powerful and aggressive neighbors. In this Greek world

2 3 4 5 6 7 8
15 21



- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Palace of the Caesars. | 13 Forum of Vespasian. | 19 FORUM. |
| 2 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. | 14 Temple of Castor and Pollux. | 20 Sacred Way. |
| 3 Temple of Saturn. | 15 Basilica Julia. | 21 Basilica Aemilia. |
| 4 Tabularium. Temple of Vespasian. | 16 Temple of Vesta. | 22 Temple of Antoninus Pius |
| 5 Temple of Concord. | 17 Temple of Julius Caesar. | 23 Temple of Konulus. |
| 6 Arch of Septimius Severus. | 18 Regia. | 24 Templum Sacre Uidis. |

THE ROMAN FORUM AND THE SURROUNDING BUILDINGS (RESTORED)

of unending strife and discord, of intrigue and political corruption, the straightforward, simple, upright, sober Roman was welcomed as a friend and deliverer by all who looked in vain for protection or justice from the greedy and brutal powers by whom they were surrounded. His presence meant the end of strife, the repression of the proud, the revival of prosperity, the reign of peace. How the Romans were looked upon by the lesser peoples of the east is strikingly shown by a passage from one of the Jewish books of the time. When the Jews were making their desperate fight for independence they looked about for helpers. The first Book of Maccabees says:

Attitude
of the
East
toward
Rome.

And Judas heard of the fame of the Romans, that they are valiant men, and have pleasure in all that join themselves unto them, with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity; and they conquered the kingdoms that were nigh and those that were far off, and all that heard of their fame were afraid of them; moreover, whomsoever they will to succor and to make kings, these do they make kings; and whomsoever they will, do they depose; and they are exalted exceedingly: and for all this none of them ever did put on a diadem, neither did they clothe themselves with purple, to be magnified thereby: and how they had made for themselves a senate-house, and day by day three hundred and twenty men sat in council, consulting alway for the people, to the end that they might be well ordered; and how they commit their government to one man year by year, that he should rule over them, and be lord over all their country, and all are obedient to that one, and there is neither envy nor emulation among them.—1 *Maccabees*, viii, 1, 12-16.

376. As time went on, however, the temper of the Romans slowly changed. They could not understand the politics of the East nor the character of its peoples. They despised the cunning and weakness of the Orientals; they were constantly disturbed by the quarrels and intrigues

Rome
Slowly
Changes
its Attitude
for the
Worse.

of the various states and by outbreaks against their own authority. The opportunities for gaining wealth and influence afforded by the decay of the eastern powers attracted them. Thus they came to interfere more and more directly, to make an unrighteous use of their superior position and power in enforcing obedience to their will; they became grasping and arrogant, until, in place of the respect and hope which they had once inspired, the Orientals began to fear and hate them.

Overthrow
of Greek
Freedom.

377. Things came to a head in Greece by a rebellion in the Macedonian districts (148 B.C.), followed by troubles with the Achæan League (146 B.C.). Macedonia was made a province; the Achæan League was dissolved; Greece was placed under the authority of the governor of Macedonia. In connection with the subjection of Greece, the city of Corinth was sacked and burned and its art treasures carried to Rome. Thus Greek freedom perished, but Roman honor and faith were sadly smirched in the process.

Destruc-
tion of
Carthage.

378. During these years the Roman name was stained by another act of oppression. Taking advantage of circumstances which looked like rebellion, the senate found a pretext for making war on Carthage and, in spite of its heroic resistance, destroyed the city, enslaved the surviving inhabitants and formed out of the conquered territory the province of Africa (149-146 B.C.). In Spain the wanton injustice and aggression of Roman governors kept the land continually in uproar. Fierce wars were waged with the various tribes. An heroic defender of Spanish freedom arose in Viriathus, who for nine years (149-140 B.C.) not only kept the Romans at bay, but defeated their generals, and was finally disposed of by assassination. Ro-

Disturb-
ances in
Spain.

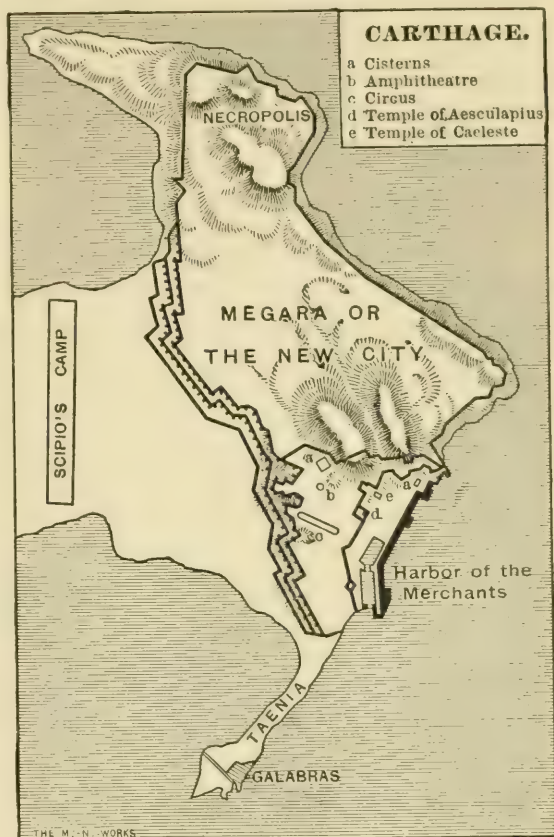
Viriathus.

man supremacy in Spain was not secured till 133 B.C. The same year (133 B.C.) the king of Pergamum, the faithful ally of Rome in the east, died, bequeathing his state to the Roman people. Out of it was made the province of Asia.

379. Thus, by 133 B.C., Rome ruled at least seven provinces, Sicily, Sardinia (including Corsica), Spain (divided into two), Macedonia, Africa and Asia.* Strong colonies dominated Cisalpine Gaul, though it had not yet re-

ceived a provincial organization. The rapid growth of her foreign domains had made it impossible for Rome to alter the original temporary form of government given to them (§ 368); it now became permanent. In place of the consuls and prætors, who were sufficiently occupied at home, the government of the province was assigned to citizens on whom was conferred the same authority as that of a

* Illyricum was probably also a province at this time, but the date is uncertain.



Province of Asia.

The Provinces and their Government.

The
Proconsul.

The
Provincial
Constitu-
tion.

Weakness
of the
System.

consul or a prætor and who acted in the place of* these officials. Hence they were called pro-consuls or pro-prætors, and were usually the consuls or prætors of the year preceding. A kind of constitution was established for each province, determining such matters as the tribute to be paid, the status of the different communities in the province and the rights and duties of the provincials. The Roman peace was made binding; provincials could not bear arms; commercium and connubium (§ 342) between the different communities were at first prohibited; a large amount of local self-government was allowed. The authority of the proconsul was wide, limited only by the terms of the provincial constitution; his obligations were equally extensive. He administered justice, preserved the peace, through a quæstor he directed the finances and saw to the tribute; he was responsible for the prosperity and progress of his province. The collection of the taxes was, according to the accepted Roman system (§ 367), taken over by a contractor, the *publicanus*, who assumed the responsibility of paying to the state the amount it required, and made a profit out of what he could squeeze from the unhappy provincials over and above the legal tribute. This "farming out" of the taxes was, thus, capable of serious abuse. The success of such a system depended upon the character of the governor, since, left practically alone with powers so large, he could carry out his own will without interference. Appointed for but one year, all that he could accomplish for good or ill must be done in this brief time. It was not strange, therefore, that some of them yielded to temptations to be unjust, selfish and cruel. In 149 B.C. it became necessary to establish a

* The Latin word for "in the place of" is *pro*.

court at home where such injustice could be brought to trial. But, as the accused could not be tried till his term of office was over, and as the court was made up of senators who either had been or might become governors of provinces, the remedy was of little avail.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire.
3. ROME'S EASTERN EMPIRE. Preliminary Survey: Overthrow of Philip V—deliverance of Greece—overthrow of Antiochus III—overthrow of Perseus—settlement of Macedonia and Greece—Rome and the East: good period (Maccabæan uprising, chaos in the East, Roman diplomacy in the East, testimony of Jews)—growth of cruelty and selfishness (Greek freedom destroyed, Carthage perishes, Spanish wars)—Rome's provincial domain in 133 B.C.—the governors, the constitution, weak sides of the system.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. Significance of the events connected with Cynoscephalæ, Pydna, Magnesia. 2. For what are the following famous: Viriathus, Simon Maccabæus, Polybius? 3. What is meant by Proconsul, Achæan League, Phalanx, Kingdom of Syria, Empire of Alexander?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare Rome's advance into the East with Alexander's (§§ 255, 263, 265). 2. How far was the Jewish praise of the Romans (§ 375) justified in the past history of the Romans? 3. Compare the Greek Phalanx and the Roman Legion. 4. "I count it glory not to possess wealth but to rule those who do." Show how this reveals the strength and the weakness of the Roman character.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The East about 200 B.C. Morey, pp. 125-127; How and Leigh, pp. 253-260; Shuckburgh, ch. 27. 2. The First and Second Macedonian Wars. Plutarch, *Life of Flamininus*; Botsford, pp. 116-118; Myres, ch. 20; How and Leigh, pp. 261-265; Shuckburgh, ch. 28. 3. The War with Antiochus. Myres, ch. 21. 4. The Third Macedonian War. Myres, ch. 22; Horton,

pp. 145-158; How and Leigh, pp. 275-280; Shuckburgh, ch. 31; Seignobos, pp. 126-130. 5. **The Life of Scipio Africanus** (see Index to How and Leigh or Shuckburgh, under his name). 6. **Change in Roman Policy toward the East.** Seignobos, pp. 130-131; Morey, p. 134; West, pp. 336-339; Wolfson, p. 325. 7. **The End of Greek Freedom.** Myres, pp. 285-289; How and Leigh, pp. 283-287. 8. **The Fall of Carthage.** Myres, pp. 289-297; Botsford, pp. 123-126; Seignobos, pp. 131-135; Horton, pp. 165-168.

Changes in
Rome's
Inner Life.

380. This extension in Rome's foreign relations, by which she came to take the leading part in the Mediterranean world, was accompanied by a remarkable series of changes in her inner life. The whole process resulted in the transformation of the state. Before proceeding to follow the next steps in this transformation, we stop to study the internal changes which had so large a part in bringing it about.* Two things were chiefly responsible for these changes in Rome; one was the growth of capitalism or money-power, the other the incoming of Græco-Oriental civilization. Working separately or in unison they affected every phase of Roman public and private life.

Causes.

Occupations.

The Farmer
Disappears.

381. Capitalism appeared as the outcome of a process which quite altered the chief occupations of Roman citizens. In this process agriculture, once the prevailing Italian activity, first changed its form and finally ceased to be of importance. The peasant proprietor of a small holding disappeared. The rural free laborer gave way to the slave. The second Punic war had devastated wide regions and impoverished many farmers. The new provinces sent in great quantities of grain which the government distributed at a cheap rate. Italian grain raisers

* The order of the topics treated will be in the main the same as that in §§ 345-356, thus making comparison easier.

could not compete with this; a bad season brought them to ruin. Thus their land went into the hands of capitalists who organized great estates, manned them with cheap slave labor and used them for the pasturage of vast flocks and herds, or turned them into vineyards and olive groves. Industry and manufacturing might have offered occupation for these farmers, but the competition of foreign workers forbade. The well-developed industrial life of the east (§§ 19, 174), which had now fallen under Roman influence, was far superior to anything that Italy had developed. Roman policy directed it all into Rome by forbidding commercium and connubium among the provinces. Such manufacturing as existed at Rome was done by slave labor. Rome became not a producer of goods, but the centre where goods were exchanged; the Roman merchant flourished on business which he had not created. His chief commodity was money. Banking became a favorite occupation, the possession and investment of capital the main element in Roman business life. The foundation of great fortunes was laid; the Roman capitalist took his place as one of the powers of the time and reached out to control the world's affairs.

Rise of
Great
Estates.

Money
and
Banking.

382. This era of capitalism brought with it a sharp division of social classes. Already the old equality and unity of Roman life had been threatened by the distinctions conferred by office and wealth (§ 339). In place of the patrician aristocracy had appeared a "nobility,"* whose position was gained by these means. The mem-

Social
Classes
Sharpened.

The
Nobility.

* A citizen who held a "curule" office thereby ennobled his family and won for them the right of placing wax masks representing the features of distinguished ancestors in the atrium and of exhibiting them at public funerals of members of the family. Such families were *nobiles*.

bers of these noble families came to regard themselves as alone capable of filling the leading public offices and, therefore, as having a right to them. From them came the majority of the senators; the senate, therefore, represented the interests of the nobility.

383. Not all men of wealth, however, belonged to the nobility. In many cases the capitalists were of lower birth. But their common interests drew them together, and their wealth was so great as to give them entrance to the class of *equites* (§ 317), where they soon came to have the predominance. Thus the equestrian order was sharply marked off from the senatorial class, as representing the wealthy business men. The interests of the two orders often clashed and brought trouble into the state.

The
Equites.

The City
Population.

384. Beneath these two classes was the rest of the community. The farmers and their families came to the city and helped to swell a poor and restless population, whose chief value was that it could vote. Another element of this population was the freedmen, who absorbed more and more of the petty business of the capital. The slaves became very numerous. Vast numbers of them were bought and sold in the course of the great wars. After one of the eastern victories the Roman commander sold his captives at an average price of eighty cents apiece. The fortune of war reduced all classes of conquered peoples, the rich and poor, the educated and the ignorant, the strong and the weak, under one common yoke; in course of time they were distributed about in the various occupations according to their ability, and their value was thus determined. They were employed in the country for farming and herding. They became indispensable in the private houses, in the mercantile and manufacturing activities of the city and as

The
Slave.

helpers in the state service. Their lot was hard, particularly that of the country slave, who was numbered with the cattle and the dogs.

385. Wealth and power wrought a striking change in the living of the upper classes. The old simplicity gave way to luxury. The form was determined by the models of Græco-Oriental life, which now became the fashion. The house was enlarged by opening a door through the rear and adding a court, which was surrounded by rooms. This was the *peristyle* and it soon became the principal part of the dwelling, the atrium being regarded as a kind of front parlor or state apartment. A second story was added and the sleeping-rooms placed in it. The interior was decorated with increasing splendor, elaborate frescoes adorned the walls, mosaics were set into the floor, ceilings were panelled and gilded. Many costly pieces of furniture replaced the former bare and simple furnishings. The sun-dial and the water-clock came from Greece. The bath-room was an indispensable part of the new house. Public baths, also, were established, and grew in number and splendor. The furnishings of the table assumed unusual importance. New kinds of food were introduced. Wider conquests brought new delicacies, nuts and fruits; wild game was much used; the peacock was a special dainty; fish and oysters became popular. A slave who was a good cook was highly esteemed and was worth \$5,000. The stool or bench gave way to the couch, on which people reclined at dinner. Abundance of silver plate, costly wines, many courses, rich dresses, music and dancing—all these show that the abstemious, severe Roman of the early days was yielding to the new opportunities for rich living that conquest and money put in his way.

**Ways of
Living.**

The House

**Furnish-
ings.**

Food.

Amuse-
ments.

Games.

Gladia-
torial
Shows.

Gambling.

The
Theatre.

386. Roman amusements disclose similar changes. The Greek fashion of having games in connection with religious festivals (§ 118) became popular. Greek athletes were often employed. The exhibitions of chariot-driving (§ 349) and wrestling soon overshadowed the religious side of the celebration. The Roman craving for sensation led to the exhibition of wild beasts, whose contests were heartily enjoyed. The most savage animals were imported from the ends of the earth. Worse than this were the gladiatorial contests, which first appeared at Rome in 264 B.C. Etruria, not Greece, was the home of this demoralizing sport, but it found a congenial place in Roman life. At first exhibited at private funerals, it soon became a part of public life. In the beginning captives fought for their lives before the populace; then men were trained for this purpose and were hired to exhibit their skill in public. The idle and sensation-loving horde of city-folk went wild with excitement over such displays. Conservative and decent officials tried in vain to suppress them by law. Gambling with dice for high stakes was a growing vice of the rich and no legislation could avail against it. Music and dancing came to be regular accompaniments of luxurious feasts. The sober sense of the old Roman was shocked by the establishment of a dancing-school, where the children of high and low mingled in dances which were far from becoming.

387. Greek influence was responsible for the rapid growth of theatrical performances. Temporary wooden theatres on Greek models began to be erected about 145 B.C., though a permanent stone structure was not put up till 55 B.C. It held at least 17,000 people. The plays were mostly comedies adapted from Greek models. The actors

were mainly slaves, hired from a training master. Few well-to-do people were present, as they regarded the performances as common and improper. This fact naturally lowered the tone of the theatre. The plays, lacking in their Roman copies the Greek lightness of touch, were often coarse and vulgar and sometimes made sport of virtue and religion. Immense throngs of common people attended them and they grew into great popularity. In course of time their character improved; they came to have some better elements and aided in the growth of culture.

A Debasing
Influence.

388. It must not be supposed that Græco-Oriental influence was all for the worse. Roman education, for example, was vastly improved by it. Greek literature, with its wondrous charm and power, was thrown open to the Romans; all that was necessary was that systematic instruction in the Greek language should be given. This the multitudes of Greek slaves could easily furnish. It now became the custom that every child, whose education was properly attended to, learned Greek. Naturally, as in Greece (§ 179), Homer was the text-book for language, geography, history and religion. Soon every educated man could speak Greek and even make speeches in it. To master another language than one's own is in itself a liberal education, but, in addition to this, the Greek language led the Roman to the knowledge of an unparalleled literature. Soon other and higher forms of Greek training came to Rome—the schools of Rhetoric and Philosophy (§§ 199, 293) for the further broadening of the Roman mind. Thus, in addition to the acquirement of knowledge for practical ends (§ 352), came education for mental culture. Another educative influence was the

Improve-
ment in
Education.

Greek
Language
and
Literature
Studied.

Philosophy.

New
Breadth of
View.

wider horizon which opened before the Roman in the new lands which fell under his sway. Knowledge of other civilizations than his own, of the wonderful east with its treasures of art and architecture, was possible for him. Young men were sent out to travel in these lands, either with a tutor, or attached to the staff of an official or a general. They came back with a larger outlook on men and things, no longer limited by their own native town; wider experience gave them sounder judgment and prepared them for intelligent leadership.

Birth of
Roman
Literature.

Under
Greek
Influence.

Comedy.

389. Roman literature and art likewise received a mighty uplift from Greece in these days. As the Greek school-teacher revolutionized Roman education, so he also produced Roman literature. Lucius Livius Andronicus (about 250 B.C.), a Greek from Tarentum, translated the "Odyssey" into Latin, and this book gradually supplanted the Twelve Tables (§ 330) as the chief school text-book. He also adapted Greek plays, chiefly those of Euripides (§ 204), for the Roman stage. Gnæus Nævius (about 225 B.C.) and Quintus Ennius (239-169 B.C.) followed in his footsteps in writing Latin plays. Thus the Latin drama on Greek models was established. Latin comedy, founded on the plays of Menander (§ 293), was produced. Here the great names are Titus Maccius Plautus (254-184 B.C.) and Publius Terentius (Terence). The latter was born at Carthage after the close of the second Punic war and taken as a slave to Rome (196-159 B.C.). The plays of the former are vivacious and strong; those of the latter are smooth and elegant. Both Nævius and Ennius wrote historical poems; the one described the First Punic War, the other told the story of Rome from the beginning in rude Latin hexameters in Homeric fash-

ion. Prose writing began; the subject was history and the language was Greek. Thus Quintus Fabius Pictor wrote of the Second Punic War, in which he himself was an actor. Soon Latin prose appeared, the representative of which was Cato the Elder, who wrote his Roman history, called the *Origines*, about 168 B.C.; by his various writings on agriculture, war and law he made Latin a literary tongue. He is the real founder of Latin prose. It was not long before two branches of literature appeared in which the native Roman genius displayed itself supremely—satire and oratory. The founder of Roman satirical poetry was Gaius Lucilius (148–103 B.C.), whose biting couplets were intensely enjoyed by all but their subjects. The first of the great orators were two contemporaries, Lucius Licinius Crassus and Marcus Antonius (about 100 B.C.). “To hear both in one day was the highest intellectual entertainment which Rome afforded.” At the same time Roman law took a step forward by the legal writings of Quintus Mucius Scævola (about 100 B.C.), who collected and organized into a series of works the legal material that had been gathering for centuries. Architecture now had the services of Greek masters and was based on Greek models. Thus around the Forum arose stately public porticoes like those of Athens; elsewhere in Rome marble temples and galleries began to appear. An era of good taste in sculpture and painting began as the Romans came in contact with the masterpieces of Greek art in Syracuse, Corinth and Athens. Unfortunately, they were not satisfied with admiring these; they began to covet them and soon to exercise the right of conquerors by carrying them off to Rome. In this field even more clearly than in literature the overpowering

History.

Cato the Elder.

Satire.

Oratory.

Law.

Architecture and Art.

effect of contact with Greece is to be seen. It is a new Rome that art and literature reveal to us after, and in consequence of, the conquest of Greece.

The Trans-
forming
Effects of
these
Influences.

390. Did all these changes take place in Rome without effect upon the character of her people? This is the most important question, and the answer to it reveals as startling a transformation as has thus far been recorded. The change may be stated in brief. Capitalism and culture destroyed the old Roman character without putting anything better in its place.

(1) Social
Ideals
Broken
Down.

391. They broke down the old social equality in which all lived for the good of the state (§ 351). Wealth divided men into classes and introduced new and strange standards of life. Selfishness took the place of patriotism. Men sought to get something out of the state instead of doing something for the state. The old Roman idea of doing one's duty in one's place turned into the practice of making the most of one's position and opportunity. Thus each class secured all sorts of distinguishing marks; the senators had special seats at the circus; the citizen had a special dress and a ring to separate him from the foreigner; every successful general sought for some special recognition of his services. The best side of this change is seen in the influence of Greek culture on the higher class. The narrow preference of everything Roman passed into a higher appreciation of what other peoples had done in art and literature. The circle of men that gathered about the Scipios* was characterized by a generous

The
Better
Side.

* Publius Cornelius Scipio, the victor over Hannibal at Zama, was given the title of Africanus. His adopted son was Publius Scipio, called Æmilianus because he was the son of Æmilius Paulus, the victor at Pydna.

and broad culture. Greek men of letters were welcomed by them. Thus Polybius, one of the leaders of the Achæan League, whom the Romans forced to go to Rome (§ 373), wrote in the spirit of this finer life a *History of Rome* in Greek, in which he hailed the union of Greek thought and Roman action as a good omen for the world's future. It was the first worthy piece of historical literature since Thucydides (§ 203). Yet even this circle, because of its broader life, regarded itself as separated from the common herd.

Polybius.

392. Capitalism and culture removed the old Roman ideas of right and wrong. Money altered the way in which people thought it proper to live, introducing luxury and show in the place of the former simplicity (§ 348). Deeds were done for gain which before would have been despised. The old Roman self-respect and dignity changed to pride and arrogance; these bred brutality in relation to foreigners. The Orientals, with their fine manners and cringing ways, were treated with contempt and abuse. Slaves, now so numerous at Rome, were beneath contempt and often handled with outrageous cruelty. The populace at Rome, once loyal and laborious, were also corrupted by the new spirit of greed and power. The gladiatorial games brutalized them; cheap grain made them lazy. The low comedies, borrowed from Greece and vulgarized in the process, were as degrading to their morals as they were attractive to their sense. The votes of the citizens began to be estimated by their money value and soon were freely bought and sold. Money even corrupted the home life; Roman matrons and daughters sought to lay up fortunes, and prized gain beyond duty to husbands and fathers. Increasing extravagance and greed led to family

(2) Moral Standards Destroyed.

The Con-
servatives
Struggle
in Vain.

troubles. Divorces began to grow in frequency; marriages for money were not uncommon. Thus public and private life was drifting away from the old moorings, and the new ways of living offered no stable anchorage. Many, it is true, sought to stem the tide and stood for the old standards. Their foremost representative was Cato the Elder, who fought for the ancient ideals of simplicity and patriotism with fierce denunciations of the novelties of the time. But he had no success, because he had nothing to put in the place of the new. The past was forever gone and no man could bring it back again.

(3) Roman
Religion
Discredited.

393. Roman religion, in its old forms and ideals (§ 355), went the way of all the old life. Greek religion had already been discredited by philosophy (§ 201), and the old Roman faith was less able than the Greek to stand against the keen Greek intellect. Thus the educated classes lost faith in the ideas that underlay the Roman ritual (§§ 314, 355), and the priests, while they introduced new Greek ritual and identified Roman gods with Greek deities, had little confidence in their ceremonials except as necessary parts of the political machine. The literary men of the time, like Ennius, openly expressed doubts about religion. The mass of the people caught the contagion, laughed at the jests on sacred subjects in the comedies of the time, and soon ceased to be influenced by the old faith. Meanwhile, new forms of eastern religion were offered to them, as strange as they were attractive. Such were the worship of Dionysus (§ 124), called in Rome Bacchus, and Cybele, a goddess of Asia Minor, who appealed, not to the old Roman sense of duty, but to the feelings, and led men away into all sorts of superstitions. The state did not favor these worships, but, offering nothing to take their place, it

New
Eastern
Cults.

was powerless to keep the Roman populace from running after them. Certainly they were better than no religion, and the old Roman faith was decayed and powerless to restrain or to help. Greek culture could help the educated class here by the teachings of philosophy, and, as time went on, the various schools that had flourished in Greece (§ 293) established themselves among the Romans and found many followers.

394. Roman public life was deeply affected by all these influences. They showed themselves in various ways. A sharp cleavage was made between the public activities of the different classes. The nobles took a tighter grasp upon the public offices and distributed them among their several families. Sometimes one family, like the Scipios, sought to keep them within their own circle. Already it was made illegal for one to be re-elected to an office until a ten years' interval had passed. A law fixed an order in which offices should be held and the age at which one could occupy them.* Hence, it was practically impossible for "new men," as non-nobles were called, to get into office. On the other hand, a law was passed by which senators were forbidden to engage in commerce, and thus the monopoly of business was left to the equites (§ 383). These men of business now began to use the state for their own purposes. It was their influence that dictated the wars of the period; they secured the destruction of rival commercial cities like Carthage and Corinth (§§ 377-378). The faithful allies, like Pergamum and Rhodes, which had been the leading commercial states of the east, were unjustly treated in order to increase Roman business predominance. The greed of these monopolists made futile the attempts to revive

Effect on
Public Life

Nobles
Seize
Power.

Influence
of the
Money
Power.

* This order was called the *cursus honorum*, the "career of honors."

Civic
Selfishness.

Bribery.

Comitia
Reorgan-
ized.

What All
this
Means.

Italy's peasant class, since they wanted more and more land for their estates. Colonies ceased to be sent out from Rome. The cruel treatment of slaves on these estates led to uprisings, like the slave revolt in Sicily, which threw that province into a state of anarchy from 139-134 B.C. All provinces came to be the prey of capitalistic robbery and extortion. The mass of the citizens, in their turn, began selfishly to shut out others from their privileges. Once citizenship had been a burden; now it was a source of profit, and the faithful allies that had made possible Rome's victory over Hannibal were jealously excluded from it. Indeed, little by little these allies saw their ancient rights withdrawn and themselves treated as subjects. In 177 B.C. they were denied their customary share of the spoils of war. Citizens began to expect more in the way of festivals and games from the officials. Their votes were even openly bought. The introduction of the ballot in the assemblies, although an improvement on the old method of voting (§ 353), aided bribery. To offset the growing power of the people the senate, about 241 B.C., reorganized the Comitia Centuriata on the basis of the tribes in such a way that the tribes just about the city, over which they had more influence, should be in the majority. The number of tribes was fixed at thirty-five. In 156 B.C. a magistrate was empowered to dispense with holding an assembly of the people, if the auspices (§ 315) were unfavorable; thus religion became a political instrument to thwart the popular will. All these facts show how the original unity of the Roman state was giving way to factions, each intent on its own selfish interests. When we couple with this situation at home the failure of the senate to uphold Roman honor abroad, the extortions of

the provincial governors for which there was no redress in the courts at home (§ 379), and the greed of generals and armies who divided the spoils of their victories among themselves, instead of paying it into the state treasury, we gain some idea of the state of Roman public life.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire.
3. ROME'S EASTERN EMPIRE. Effect of eastern expansion on Rome's inner life—transformation as the result of (1) Roman capitalism, (2) Greek culture: changes of occupation—new social classes—ways of living changed (house, food, amusements, gladiatorial shows, theatre)—education changed—Roman literature—art and architecture—effect of all this upon character: (1) upon social ideals, (2) upon moral standards, (3) upon Roman religion, (4) upon public life (nobles in power, money supreme, selfishness, bribery).

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. What is meant by *nobiles*, *auspices*, *curule office*, *cursus honorum*, *peristyle*, *proprætor*, *Forum*. 2. For what were the following famous: Cato the Elder, Ennius, Lucilius, Appius Claudius, Menander, Dionysus?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the origin and purpose of the Roman theatre with those of the Greek (§§ 138, 183). 2. Compare a Roman citizen in this period with one in 450 B.C. 3. What is the difference in the attitude toward money between a Greek of the Age of Pericles (§§ 175-177) and a Roman of this age?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. Roman Life and Manners under Greek Influence. Morey, pp. 148-152; Myres, ch. 23; Seignobos, ch. 11; Wolfson, ch. 27. 2. Corruption of Public Life. Munro, pp. 99-100 (source); Myres, ch. 26; West, pp. 340-350; How and Leigh, chs. 28-31; Abbott, ch. 5; Seignobos, ch. 12; Botsford, ch. 6; Morey, pp. 143-148; Shuckburgh, ch. 32. 3. The Beginnings of Roman Literature. Mackail, pp. 3-38; Laing, pp. 1-62 (translation of the *Phormio* of Terence). 4. Roman Religion under Greek In-

fluence. Seignobos, pp. 148-251. 5. The Gladiatorial Games. Johnston, pp. 242-252. 6. Cato the Censor. Plutarch, Life of Cato; Munro, pp. 95-97 (source); How and Leigh, pp. 302-305; Shuckburgh, pp. 518-521; Seignobos, pp. 156-359; Botsford, pp. 143-146. 7. How far was Cato's claim true that should the Romans come thoroughly to imbibe Greek literature, they would lose the empire of the world?

The
Beginnings
of Civil
Conflict.

The Action
of Tiberius
Gracchus.

The
Land
Problem.

395. With such a situation in Rome's inner life a conflict of interests and powers was unavoidable. The failure of the leading men to solve the problems of administration was certain to call out attempts from all sides to cope with the difficulties which they were not able to meet. The first attempt, which precipitated a century of struggle, was made in 133 B.C., by the tribune Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. A member of the senatorial nobility, the grandson of Scipio Africanus, and brother-in-law of Scipio Æmilianus, he was a valiant soldier of the republic and, at the same time, highly educated in the new learning of the times. The miserable economic decay of Italy appealed to him, and he sought to restore prosperity by introducing an agrarian law for the distribution of the public lands among the citizens. The limit upon the amount of public land to be leased to any one citizen set by the Licinian laws (§ 338) had been disregarded to such an extent that practically all of it had been taken up in the great estates of the rich proprietors. The law of Tiberius Gracchus established a commission of three (*triumvirate*) to secure the carrying out of the new provisions which contemplated reducing the illegal holdings to their proper limits and assigning the remainder in equal parts to landless citizens. The proposal created a storm in which the senate placed itself in opposition to the tribune; even his colleague interposed a veto. Thereupon Tiberius, falling back on ancient

precedent (§ 339), appealed directly to the people, who responded by deposing the obstructive tribune and passing the law. The commission was appointed and began its work. To carry out his plans, Tiberius found it necessary to override the law prohibiting re-election (§ 394) and stand again for tribune. But the nobles banded against him; a riot was raised at election time, the partisans fought in the streets of Rome, and Tiberius was killed.

Tiberius
Appeals
to the
People.

His Death.

396. In his zeal for reform Tiberius Gracchus had raised issues hitherto unheard of at Rome, and, no doubt, not grasped by himself. He was the first to bring new political ideas into the field, which divided the community into parties. The Optimates, or Aristocrats, and the Populares or Democrats, henceforth struggle for leadership. Men of all classes array themselves on either side. In appealing to the people as sovereign in election and legislation without regard to senate and magistrates, he brought a new doctrine into Roman politics. This was a Greek idea (§ 168); at Rome the state depended upon the joint action of all three and did not go back to any one as supreme. Party struggles led to civil strife, in which reason gave way to force and the state was shaken to its foundations.

Rise
of
Parties.

The
"Sovereign
People."

397. Ten years passed, when, in 123 B.C., Gaius Gracchus, younger brother of Tiberius, was elected tribune. He proceeded to move farther along the path opened by his brother and showed greater resolution, clearer insight and more vigorous leadership. Under his direction the people proceeded to reclaim their ancient powers usurped by the senate. The law of appeal (§ 331) was restored. The right of appointing governors of provinces was reclaimed. The senate was still further humiliated by the

Work of
Gaius
Gracchus.

War
on the
Senate.

transference of the court for trying provincial officials (§ 379) to the equites. The people were favored by a law establishing a free distribution of grain (§ 381), by the renewal of the agrarian law (§ 395), and the establishment of colonies. These measures secured the support of the equites and of the populace. The next year Gaius was re-elected. Now he took a bolder step, in the interests of the peoples of Italy, by proposing to admit those allies having the Latin right to citizenship. Such a measure was simple justice and would have strengthened the citizen body of Rome by introducing new and better elements. But he could not carry the selfish and jealous citizens with him in this, failed of re-election the next year and was killed, as his brother had been, in a street riot (121 B.C.). He had shown what party government could accomplish under an enterprising and uncompromising head, he had broken the usurpation of the senate and had thrown the question of Italian franchise into the field. The agrarian legislation was futile; the work of the commission languished; fields assigned were abandoned, and by 111 B.C. all holders of public land, rich and poor, were confirmed in their possession. Rome ceased to have any public land in Italy.

The
Franchise
Question.

His
Death.

Results.

The
Senate
Fails to
Manage
Affairs.

Jugurthine
War.

398. When the conflict broke out again, party leaders of a different type came to the front and with them a new force took the field. The victorious senate again tried to conduct affairs. They failed in the notable instance of the Numidian War (112-106 B.C.). The king of Numidia, an ally of Rome, left his kingdom on his death to his three sons. One of them, Jugurtha, sought to secure the prize for himself; he killed one brother and made war on the other. He continued to cause trouble in defiance

of the senate, which thereupon declared war. The senatorial generals, first sent out, were bribed by the crafty king and made a disgraceful peace. The senate repudiated it and sent out another general, who took out with him as lieutenant, Gaius Marius, a man of low rank but a successful soldier. More was accomplished in this campaign, but in 107 B.C. the democracy took matters into their own hands and made Marius consul for the purpose of bringing the war to a close. This he speedily accomplished. Jugurtha was brought a prisoner to Rome and died in a Roman dungeon.

Marius.

399. Meanwhile, a serious danger had been threatening Italy from the north. For a long time the Romans had been making war in Gaul on the other side of the Alps (Gallia Transalpina), and had established a province called Gallia Narbonensis, from the name of the capital city, Narbo. Now, down from the distant and unknown north came two peoples, the Cimbri and Teutones, who sought homes in the more fertile south. Breaking their way through the already weakened barrier of Gallic tribes, they came face to face with the Roman armies and defeated them in four successive battles (in 113, 109, 107, 105 B.C.). The route into Italy stood open to them. Dismayed at the prospect, the democracy again stepped forward and elected their hero Marius as consul and defender against this dreaded foe. For four successive years he was thus chosen. The invaders had separated—the Teutones taking the route from the northwest, the Cimbri passing around the Alps and entering Italy from the northeast. In 102 B.C. Marius met the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ and defeated them. The next year (101 B.C.), joining his colleague, who was facing the Cimbri in the

**The
Terror
from
the North.**

**The
Invaders.**

**Marius
Saves
Italy.**

His
Military
Reforms.

Raudine plains, he annihilated them. Thus Italy was saved and Marius was its saviour. He had gained his success not more by his own valor than by the military reforms he introduced. Doing away with the usual practice of levying soldiers and limiting the levy to men of property (§ 317), he invited Roman citizens to enroll themselves under his banner regardless of property qualifications. As a result he had an army made up of men who wished to fight and were devoted to their commander.

The New
Situation.

400. Thus the seed sown by the Gracchi had sprung up and borne unexpected fruit. The democracy placed at its head a military hero behind whom stood an army whose first interest was not loyalty to the state, but devotion to its leader. For the defence of the state abroad and the overthrow of enemies at home the democracy did not hesitate to re-elect its chief to the highest offices year after year. Marius held the consulship seven times. This example was soon followed by the other party. Military prowess began to take the place of civic leadership. He was strongest who had an army under his command. Ambition got the better of patriotism and set military power against civic right. The conflict of parties passed into the struggle of individuals occupying positions in which they controlled armies.

Military
Men Lead
the People.

Sulla.

401. One of these men who had gained his military education under the new captain was to outdo Marius on his own field. This was Lucius Cornelius Sulla, a man of noble family, an aristocrat in temper and tastes, who took his stand on the side of the senatorial party. Sulla, like Marius, owed his opportunity to the incapacity of Roman administration at home and abroad.

402. Marius was no statesman. Under his leadership

the democracy plunged Rome into a series of useless civil conflicts. The one leading question left unsettled was that of the franchise for the Italian allies, but with this the democrats did not care to deal. Finally, from the side of the senate, Drusus, in 91 B.C., proposed, among other things, to give citizenship to them. The proposal was rejected and Drusus lost his life in the struggle. The long-suffering allies, thus again deluded, rose in arms, renounced their allegiance and undertook the founding of a new Italian state, "Italica," with its capital at Corfinium. This formidable revolt, the Social* War (91-88 B.C.), was ended with a formal victory for Rome, but a virtual success for the allies, since a series of laws, granting citizenship to certain classes among them, was passed during the war and did more than Roman arms to weaken their opposition.

The
Franchise
Problem.

Drusus.

The
Social
War.

403. These laws were the Lex Julia (90 B.C.), granting citizenship to Italian states not in rebellion, and the Lex Plautia Papiria (89 B.C.), admitting all Italians without distinction to the franchise on application to the prætor within sixty days. At the same time all the cities of Cisalpine Gaul received the Latin right. It seems, however, that the advantages of citizenship were limited from the fact that the new citizens were all confined to eight tribes.

Settlement
of the
Franchise
Question.

404. Sulla had distinguished himself by service in the Social War and was elected consul in 88 B.C. The situation in the eastern provinces was alarming and a vigorous leader was required to cope with it. Among the states allied to Rome in Asia Minor was Pontus. To the throne of this kingdom, in 114 B.C., came a remarkable ruler, Mithridates, whose ambition contemplated nothing less

* So called from the Latin word for allies, *Socii*.

Rise of
Mithrida-
tes of
Pontus.

War
with
Rome.

Sulla
and the
Demo-
cracy.

Party
Conflicts
Continue.

Sulla
Defeats
Mithri-
dates,

than the revival of an empire on the model of Alexander's, which should drive the Romans out of the east. Left free to act by the incompetence of the senate and its eastern representatives, he built up a vast coalition and, taking advantage of a wanton act of aggression on the part of the Roman officials, he launched his armies against them, defeated their forces and took possession of the province of Asia (88 B.C.). This victory was followed by the massacre of all Romans throughout the province to the number of 80,000.

405. Awakened to the growing danger, the senate had appointed Sulla to deal with Mithridates the year before. But the democracy, claiming the right to make these appointments, under the leadership of the tribune Sulpicius, in 88 B.C., appointed Marius to the position. Sulla, who had collected an army for his foreign task and was about to leave Italy, suddenly marched on Rome, and, for the first time in Roman history, a Roman army entered the walls and placed its commander in possession of the state. Sulpicius was killed, Marius fled, and their partisans were overawed. Then, having left his party in power, Sulla departed with his army for the war with Mithridates.

406. Hardly had he disappeared when the consul Cinna, with the support of Marius* and an army, restored the democracy to power, and took bloody vengeance on its enemies. But its triumph was short. Sulla's return from the east brought it to an end. He had spent four years in bringing Mithridates to terms (87-84 B.C.). The Oriental king retired to Pontus, beaten but not overcome. The province of Asia was recovered and its inhabitants forced to pay their arrears of tribute and 20,000 talents

* Marius died soon after,

besides, a punishment which brought them to financial ruin. The Greeks who had sided with Mithridates were also punished. Then Sulla returned home to avenge himself on his adversaries. A decisive victory over the troops opposing him in Italy gave him entrance to Rome and placed him in possession of supreme power in 81 B.C. He was appointed Dictator, with the task of bringing order into the state. His accession was a signal for bloody massacres of his enemies, the confiscation of their property and the enrichment of his followers. His political policy was simple, the restoration of the senate to supremacy and the establishment of its position by constitutional authority. The powers claimed by the people were swept away. The consent of the senate was required before measures could be proposed to the Comitia; the tribunes were stripped of all but intercessory powers (§ 329) and those holding the office of tribune made thereafter ineligible for other offices; the courts were restored to the senators (§ 397); the *cursus honorum* (§ 394) and the law against re-election to office were revived. Having thus accomplished his object as he believed, Sulla resigned the office of dictator (74 B.C.), retired to private life and died not long after. The senate was once more in the saddle, this time, as it seemed, legally seated in control.

And
Returns
Home.

At the
Head of
the State.

Establishes
the Legal
Supremacy
of the
Senate.

Sulla Dies.

407. But, like the work of any man who moves against the irresistible current of history, Sulla's political reforms were vain. He made no attempt to solve the problems of provincial administration or to guard against the dangers arising out of military leadership, and from these quarters his scheme was shattered within a few years of its establishment. Rome and its provinces were growing more and more dependent upon one another. The food-

Sulla's
Legislation
Inadequate
and Futile.

Failure of
Provincial
Adminis-
tration.

supply of Italy was largely met by the importation of grain from the provinces. The business of Rome stretched over the whole civilized world, and its progress depended upon the peace and prosperity of the provinces. Hence, a government that kept the provinces in order, that secured peace and established justice, was absolutely necessary. But just here the old Roman system was a failure. Rome was a city-state and its government was not organized for imperial rule over a wide domain. Neither senate nor people was equal to the demand. The only way to solve the problem was to give large powers to the magistrate; yet this brought with it the danger that the state had been guarding against for centuries—making the magistrate too powerful, giving him control of the government. We have seen how the state was steadily moving in this direction. Marius and Sulla are examples of the tendency which was growing stronger and stronger. The party conflicts at Rome only opened wider the door of opportunity to the magistrates. Thus the expansion of Rome to an Empire brought about the breaking down of the old constitution.

Solution
of the
Problem.

The New
Dangers
to Rome.

408. Sulla's legislation was a feeble dam across the current, which soon carried it off. Shortly after his death Roman power was being threatened from three sides. (1) The province of Spain was in possession of the adherents of Marius, led by a gallant soldier, Sertorius. (2) A terrible insurrection of slaves in Italy broke out under the leadership of a gladiator, Spartacus. (3) The east was in an uproar owing to the ravages of pirates, having their seats on the coasts and islands of the eastern Mediterranean, especially Cilicia and Crete. They destroyed Roman commerce and even cut off the food-supply from Rome. Mithridates, also, was recovering from his defeat

and organizing a new coalition to sweep the Romans out of the east.

409. In the face of these troubles, the senate was forced to find a helper in the person of a young man who had won his spurs under Sulla. This was Gneius Pompeius,* of noble family, whose father had been a successful general. In 77 B.C. he was given proconsular power by the senate contrary to the Sullan constitution, and sent into Spain, where he overcame Sertorius in 72 B.C. Then, returning to Rome, he sought the consulship. When the senate opposed him, he allied himself with Crassus, the richest man in Rome. Crassus was leader of the equites and had already brought the war with Spartacus to an end. The two leaders turned to the democracy and obtained its support by promising to overthrow the constitution of Sulla. Thus, in defiance of the senate, Pompey was elected consul and carried out the programme. Sulla's work perished less than ten years after his death.

Rise of
Pompey.

Sulla's
Work
Over-
thrown.

410. Meanwhile, the war with Mithridates was renewed and the Roman general Lucullus, a man of ability and worth, was able to win several victories (74-68 B.C.). But the devastations wrought by the pirates continued. Accordingly, in 67 B.C., the tribune Gabinius proposed to the people to give Pompey large powers for three years to undertake their subjugation. The next year (66 B.C.), by the proposal of the tribune Manilius, the conduct of the war with Mithridates was also conferred upon him; by this "Manilian" law he was given unlimited authority for the settlement of the east. By these two laws Pompey was placed in a position of power which no Roman before him had ever occupied.

Pompey
Sent to
the East.

* The English form of his name, Pompey, will be henceforth used.

New
Leaders.

Cicero.

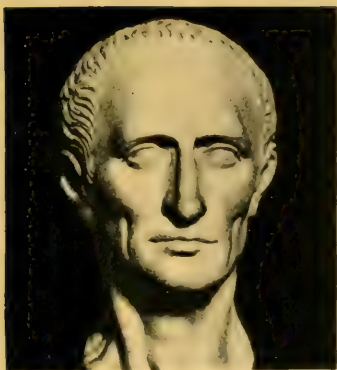
His
Political
Ideal.

Cæsar.

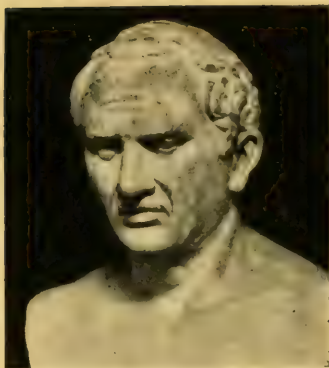
The
Conspiracy
of Catiline.

411. In support of these measures two men came forward who were destined thenceforth to play a large part in Roman life—Marcus Tullius Cicero and Gaius Julius Cæsar. Cicero was a countryman, of equestrian rank, who was rapidly rising to the position of the leading orator at Rome and head of the equites. A man of fine personal character and wide culture, he was zealous for the restoration of the old Roman constitution and the revival of the old Roman spirit. This he hoped to secure by giving the Italian element in Roman citizenship a larger place in the state. The people, thus braced and purified by the influence of this worthier and sounder element, he hoped to see unite with the senate in a new and firm government. It was a beautiful dream, and Cicero gave his life to its realization. Cæsar belonged to one of the oldest and proudest patrician families. He was a daring and far-seeing spirit, cherishing no dreams, eager to play a leading part in the politics of his day. Related by marriage to Marius, he took the side of the democratic party and from that standpoint sought to re-establish and glorify the Roman name.

412. Pompey was in the East five years (66–62 B.C.). During his absence a crisis occurred at Rome which well-nigh destroyed the state. The rapid rise of the democracy encouraged the discontented and the miserable to hope for a change of fortune. A ruined and reckless patrician, Catiline by name, sought to unite all who were like himself in character and fortune in a conspiracy to overthrow the government and plunder the rich. How widely the plot extended was never known. Even Crassus and Cæsar are thought to have had knowledge of it. To meet the danger feared rather than known, the more conservative



Julius Cæsar



Cicero



Vespasian



Hadrian



Faustina



Commodus

TYPICAL ROMAN HEADS

citizens, optimates and equites united, elected Cicero as one of the consuls in the years 64 and 63 B.C. He showed uncommon skill and courage in grappling with it, unearthed the conspirators and impeached them. Though Catiline fled, other leaders were seized, and on the authority of the senate put to death by the consul. In 62 B.C. Catiline, who had gathered an army, was overthrown in battle and died fighting. It was Cicero's one splendid political success in uniting the best elements of the state in its defence, and he looked forward to the speedy realization of his dream (§ 411). But he was soon to be sorely disappointed.

Cicero
Overthrows
It.

413. The career of Pompey in the east had been one uninterrupted success. Forty days sufficed for him to clear the sea of pirates; he pursued them to their strongholds and destroyed them. Then he advanced against Mithridates and his son-in-law and ally, Tigranes of Armenia. A victory in 66 B.C. shattered the Pontic power and brought peace with Tigranes. The Parthians also allied with Pompey. Steadily Mithridates was hemmed in, until, in 63 B.C., he killed himself. His kingdom was made a Roman province. The kingdom of the Seleucidæ (§ 287) was brought to an end and Syria became a province (64 B.C.). The Jewish king (§ 374) resisted Pompey, who stormed Jerusalem (63 B.C.) and reduced Judea to a Roman dependency ruled by high-priests. The Euphrates river became the eastern boundary of the Roman state. Cities were founded, stable government was restored and prosperity revived. Three new provinces, Bithynia-Pontus, Syria and Crete were added to Rome's eastern possessions; the province of Cilicia was enlarged and friendly alliances with the border-kings and chiefs

Pompey's
Victories
in the East.

were established or renewed. An immense sum was paid into the Roman treasury. Pompey had amply fulfilled his task and now returned to Rome, where he triumphed, in 61 B.C.

The First
Trium-
virate.

414. The senate took an attitude of criticism and disfavor toward Pompey, and refused to give lands to his veterans or ratify his acts in the east. Looking elsewhere for allies, he joined with Cæsar and Crassus in a coalition which has been called the first Triumvirate. It meant that the united influence of all should be used to satisfy the desires of each. They were entirely successful. Cæsar was elected consul in 59 B.C.; as consul he secured for Pompey the things denied him by the senate; also Crassus and his friends were enriched. Cæsar also obtained an appointment as proconsul in Gaul for five years, beginning in 58 B.C. The compact was followed by the marriage of Pompey and Cæsar's daughter, Julia.

Its
Renewal.

415. It turned out that Cæsar's proconsulate in Gaul lasted for ten years. When his first term was about to close, the triumvirate met again (56 B.C.) at Luca and agreed to use their influence to have Pompey and Crassus elected consuls for 55 B.C. The two consuls would then see to it that Cæsar's term should be prolonged for another five years, while they themselves were also to have each a five years' term as proconsul, Crassus in Syria and Pompey in Spain. The agreement was duly carried out. Crassus left for Syria in 54 B.C., where he was killed in battle with the Parthians the following year. Cæsar remained in Gaul. Pompey lingered at Rome.

Rome in
Confusion.

416. Political affairs in Rome had been going from bad to worse. Intrigue and the strife of factions filled the city with confusion and turmoil. Partisan leaders surrounded

by armed adherents paraded the streets and fought with one another. An adept at this sort of politics was the young and dissolute patrician, Publius Clodius, a democrat of the type of Catiline, who succeeded in terrorizing foes and friends alike. As tribune, he proceeded to get Cicero banished in 58 B.C., for having violated the law of appeal by putting the Catilinarian conspirators to death (§ 412). A turn of the wheel brought the great orator back in triumph the next year. Clodius, finally, was killed in a street fight in 52 B.C. Pompey began gradually to draw away from Cæsar and incline toward the optimates. Soon after the conference at Luca (§ 415) his wife Julia died and, with the death of Crassus, the last link that bound him personally to Cæsar was severed. In 52 B.C. he was made sole consul and introduced measures which revealed his alliance with the senate and his break with Cæsar.

Pompey
Draws toward the
Senate.

417. Jealousy and fear of Cæsar may have had much to do with this new attitude of Pompey. For Cæsar's career in Gaul had been remarkable. The ten years, now drawing to a close (58-49 B.C.), had been occupied with hard fighting and skilful diplomacy. Assigned the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum, he proceeded at once to protect Roman interests on their borders, threatened by movements among the tribes beyond. The continual tumult caused by quarrels between these tribes was heightened by the incoming of Germans from across the Rhine. Already the Helvetii, a Gallic tribe living in the country about the sources of the Rhone and Rhine, were hard pressed and prepared to move westward. If the pressure were not removed, the Roman province would sooner or later be threatened with inva-

Cæsar in
Gaul.

sion. Requests for help from Gallic tribes gave another opportunity for Cæsar's interference. He crossed the Roman border, forced back the Helvetii who had already begun to move, drove the Germans in Gaul over the Rhine, and plunged into a series of campaigns which, in successive years, carried his arms to the North sea, across the Rhine, to the shores of the Atlantic and into Britain. Opposition was crushed or turned by alliance into friendship until the Roman name was supreme throughout all Gaul. No attempt was made to bring the country under the direct rule of Rome, but, following his army, came Roman commerce and culture to transform the people and prepare the way for the addition of Gaul to the Empire. Cæsar's achievement had two results: (1) it turned Gaul into a bulwark of civilization to hold back advancing German barbarism and thus furnished a means for extending this civilization and establishing it in the regions beyond Gaul. Thereby all succeeding periods of western history down to our own day have been stamped with Rome's impress. (2) Cæsar gained for himself men and money by which to take a commanding part in the further history of Rome.

Importance
of His
Work
There.

Cæsar in
Conflict
with the
Senate.

418. Cæsar had sore need of these things, for Pompey, backed by the senate, was rapidly taking a more hostile attitude. Cæsar's term as proconsul closed in 49 B.C., and he could not enter upon the consulship for which he wished to stand till 48 B.C. Meanwhile, he would be a private citizen and could be brought to trial and ruined on charges which he knew would be trumped up against him. Moreover, he could canvass for election only by coming to Rome in person; this he could not do without leaving his province and giving up his proconsulate. He sought to

GAUL

At the time of Cæsar

Scale of Miles

0 50 100 150

MARCH OF CÆSAR AND HIS ARMY

- Campaign 1 ———
- Campaign 2 ———
- Campaign 3 ———
- Campaign 4 ———
- Campaign 5 ———
- Campaign 6 ———
- Campaign 7 ———
- Campaign 8 ———



have these conditions waived in his case, but the senate refused. Finally, after endless negotiations, the senate commanded him to resign his province, and Pompey was called upon to save the state from him as a public enemy. In response Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, a river which separated his province from Italy, and marched rapidly on Rome with an army (January 49 B.C.). Rome was in alarm, and Pompey, with the majority of the senate and a crowd of nobles, fled to the coast and crossed over to Greece, where he gathered an army from the eastern provinces. Cæsar found himself, without serious opposition, in possession of Italy and Rome. After a hasty expedition to Spain, where he overthrew his enemies, he was appointed dictator, held the elections, in which he was made consul (48 B.C.), and proceeded to enter upon the struggle with Pompey and the senatorial party.

**He
Marches
on Rome.**

**Is Master
of Italy.**

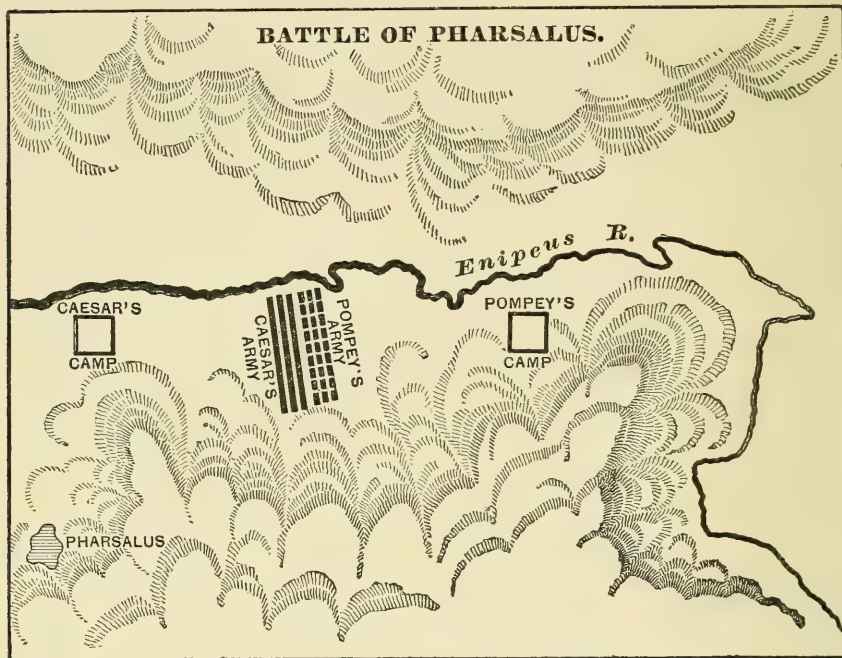
419. The decisive battle was fought at Pharsalus in Thessaly (48 B.C.). Pompey was beaten and his army scattered; he himself fled to Egypt, where he was murdered as he sought to land. But lesser commanders held out in the various provinces against the victor and he was compelled to make a series of campaigns against them. First, the east was brought into order. In Egypt, Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy, descendants of the old Greek rulers, were placed on the throne under Roman protection. A battle at Zela (47 B.C.) overthrew the son of Mithridates, who attempted to withstand him. The formidable array of Pompeian generals in Africa was annihilated in the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.). A last stand in Spain was made, only to be overthrown in 45 B.C., at the battle of Munda. After four years of fighting, Cæsar was master of the situation, and the opportunity was open

Pharsalus.

**Cæsar
Wins the
Roman
World.**

His
Death.

to him of solving the problems of the state, which had been in the balance for nearly a hundred years. But early in 45 B.C. (March 15) he was assassinated in the senate-



house by a band of conspirators, led by Gaius Cassius and a favorite friend, Marcus Brutus, and the Roman world again plunged into anarchy.

His Work
of Reor-
ganization.

420. In the intervals of his campaigns, however, Cæsar set himself to re-establish public order and civil administration both by his example and spirit and by his laws. (1) His attitude toward his enemies was an astonishingly mild one. No murders, no wholesale seizure of property, no gratifying of personal grudges marked his victory; on the contrary, forgiveness of injuries and the employment of vanquished opponents in state service was the rule. This can only mean that the welfare of the state and not

Its
Spirit.

personal ambition ruled his spirit. (2) He recognized his victory as the supremacy of the magistracy over the other organs of state-life. The senate and the people had alike failed to administer affairs with success. Now it was the turn of the magistrate. The senate was reduced to its legitimate place as his adviser. To this end it was enlarged to 900 members, made more representative by being drawn from various ranks of society and districts of the Empire; even "half-barbarian Gauls" were there. The people exercised its functions of law-giving and election under his bidding and direction. (3) He gathered all the magisterial powers into his own hand. The particular office by which he ruled the state was that of dictator, but he combined with it consular, proconsular, tribunician and censorial powers, all of which were conferred upon him by senate and people. (4) The unification of the Empire was one of his chief aims. The centralization of magisterial powers in himself enabled him to hold all affairs in his own hands and direct them himself. The chief outward sign of this was his favorite title, *Imperator*. As *Imperator* he possessed an *imperium* above and inclusive of that of other magistrates.* Hence, he alone ruled the provinces and he was head of the city government. His measures indicated his ideals. (a) Citizenship was conferred on a wider scale than ever before. The Gauls across the Po, colonies in the provinces and worthy persons among the provincials were given full rights and the Latin right was conferred upon others. (b) Municipal government (§ 341) was granted to many cities in Italy that hitherto had not possessed it. (c) New colonies were established at Corinth and Carthage and

The
Magistracy
Supreme.

He is
Sole
Magistrate.

His Im-
perial Idea
and its
Realiza-
tion.

* This is called the *maius imperium*.

decaying colonies and towns were revived by new settlers. (d) The city populace of Rome was curbed, political clubs were abolished, the number of those receiving state grain was cut down one half; Rome began to be reduced from the position of a sovereign of subject lands to the place of a leading city, or capital, of an Empire. (e) The soldiers of his armies were settled on lands obtained without confiscation. Thus law, rights, order and prosperity, common to all, began to appear throughout the one Empire. (5) Outside of political affairs, the activities of Cæsar were notable. He reformed the calendar by substituting for the indefinite lunar year the exact sun year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. Public works were undertaken both for the benefit of the state and the employment of needy citizens. Chief among these was the Julian Forum, adorned with the temple of Venus, his patron goddess. We are told that he planned other extensive projects for beautifying the city and benefiting Italy, such as erecting a temple to Mars and a theatre, establishing public libraries, draining the Pomptine marshes and the Fucine lake, building a road over the Apennines, codifying the laws; but his death left them uncompleted.

Other
Activities.

Literature
in His
Day.

Lucretius.

421. Cæsar's genius was many-sided, almost universal. He possessed striking literary power in an age of vigorous intellectual activity. Some of the chief ornaments of Roman literature flourished in his own day, but he shone as brightly as any. Two Roman poets, Lucretius and Catullus, belong to his time. Lucretius is famous for his philosophical poem *On the Nature of Things*, dealing with the origin and history of the world and man, on the principles of the Epicurean philosophy (§ 293). Not only is its insight into truth remarkable, but the poetical power

displayed is rich and strong. Catullus was a lyric poet who died at thirty, but left behind him poems whose lines are so delicate, original and touching as to rank him among the greatest lyrists of the world. Supreme in the realm of prose was Cicero (§ 411), who sprang into fame as an orator by his prosecution of Verres, the corrupt Roman governor of Sicily, and advanced it by a long series of legal and political speeches like those against Catiline (§ 412). In another sphere, that of political, literary and philosophical treatises, he wrote works such as those *On Oratory*, *On the State*, *On the Nature of God*, *On Old Age*. These masterpieces are not only notable for their ideas, they are most significant in their marvellous mastery of the Latin tongue, the majestic roll of their sentences, the music of their phrases, the strength and variety of their vocabulary. He made Latin the vehicle of expression for the widest and highest thought, the medium of utterance for generations of scholars and thinkers to come. Among such men Cæsar was also famous. As an orator, there were those who placed him on a level with Cicero. But the world knows him best in literature by his unrivalled narratives of his campaigns. His *Commentaries*, notes or jottings on the Gallic War and the Civil War, are expressed in terse, vivid, clear Latin, "the model and despair of later historians." The only man of the time who approached him was Sallust, one of his younger contemporaries and a trusted officer, whose model for historical writing was Thucydides (§ 203). His chief work was his *History* of his own times from the death of Sulla. Only a few fragments of it remain, but two brief treatises, one on the war with Jugurtha and the other on the conspiracy of Catiline, have survived. They show considerable lit-

Catullus.

Cicero.

Cæsar
as a
Writer.

Sallust.

erary power and an admirable sense for historic truth. Lesser lights of the time were Cornelius Nepos, the biographer, and Varro, the learned antiquarian, whose treatises on old Roman life and manners, though preserved in fragments, have been of great value to modern students.

Cæsar's
Supreme
Genius
Analyzed.

422. Yet, as soldier and statesman, Cæsar stands pre-eminent. He possessed four gifts to an extraordinary degree. (1) Quickness of insight and an almost preternatural ability to choose the right course to success. (2) A breadth of view which saw things in their widest issues and could devise measures on a scale proportionate to the problem to be solved. (3) Immense capacity for toil. (4) Marvellous power to draw men to himself, to fire them with his own enthusiasm and to set them at work. Any one of these gifts makes a strong man; all of them combined made Cæsar the foremost man of his time and one of the few greatest men of all times. His only parallel in the ancient world is Alexander of Macedon. Like that hero, he closes one chapter of world-history and opens another. He changed the face of things, and the world has ever since borne the impress of his marvellous achievement.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire.
3. ROME'S EASTERN EMPIRE. The wars that conquered the East—the effect of money and eastern civilization on Rome—the beginning of civil strife—Tiberius Gracchus and his platform—Caius Gracchus (against the Senate, the franchise question)—failure of the Senate (war with Jugurtha)—Marius and the democracy—the northern invaders—military reforms—individual leaders, men of war—Drusus and the Social War—its result—

Sulla—the war with Mithridates—Sulla in power at Rome—his legislation and its outcome—demands of the provinces—rise of Pompey—his Eastern command—rise of Cicero and Cæsar—conspiracy of Catiline and Cicero's triumph—Pompey in the East—return and first Triumvirate—confusion at Rome—Cæsar in Gaul—Pompey takes the senatorial side—Cæsar crosses the Rubicon—Pharsalus—death of Cæsar—his work of reorganization (spirit, imperialism, centred on himself, his measures)—literature of the time—Cæsar the foremost man of antiquity.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what were the following important: Drusus, Jugurtha, Sertorius, Luca, the Rubicon, Lucretius? 2. What is meant by Triumvirate, Italica, Agrarian law, *majus imperium*, *populares*? 3. Who were the two leading Scipios and how did they receive their names of Africanus and Æmilianus? 4. Trace the careers of the following through the period: Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Cicero, Cæsar. 5. What was the date of Cæsar's death?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the parties at Rome in origin, aims and character with those at Athens in the fifth century (§§ 146, 165, 195, 199, 217, 218). 2. With what Greek statesman and soldier would you compare Sulla (see Plutarch's choice)? 3. In Plates XI and XVIII compare the heads of Alexander and Cæsar and draw some conclusions.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. *The Roman Constitution by the Year 133.* Munro, pp. 47-52 (source); Horton, ch. 19. 2. *The Gracchi and Their Times.* Plutarch, *Lives of the Gracchi*; Morey, ch. 19; Seignobos, ch. 13; Botsford, pp. 151-160; How and Leigh, chs. 33-36; Wolfson, ch. 28; Shuckburgh, ch. 35. 3. *The Politics of the Gracchi.* Abbott, pp. 94-98. 4. *The Times of Marius and Sulla.* Morey, ch. 20; Seignobos, ch. 14; Botsford, pp. 160-174; Wolfson, ch. 29. 5. *The Numidian War.* Myres, pp. 360-368; How and Leigh, pp. 360-371. 6. *The Cimbri and Teutones.* Myres, pp. 368-372; Horton, ch. 23. 7. *Military Reforms of Marius.* Myres, pp. 378-380; How and Leigh, pp. 378-380. 8. *The Social War.* How and Leigh, ch. 39; Shuckburgh, pp. 589-592. 9. *The Constitution of Sulla.* Morey, pp. 176-179; Abbott, pp. 104-107; How and Leigh, ch. 44; Myres, ch. 35. 10. *Times of Pompey and Cæsar.* Morey, ch. 21; Botsford, pp. 175-196. 11. *Pompey in the East.*

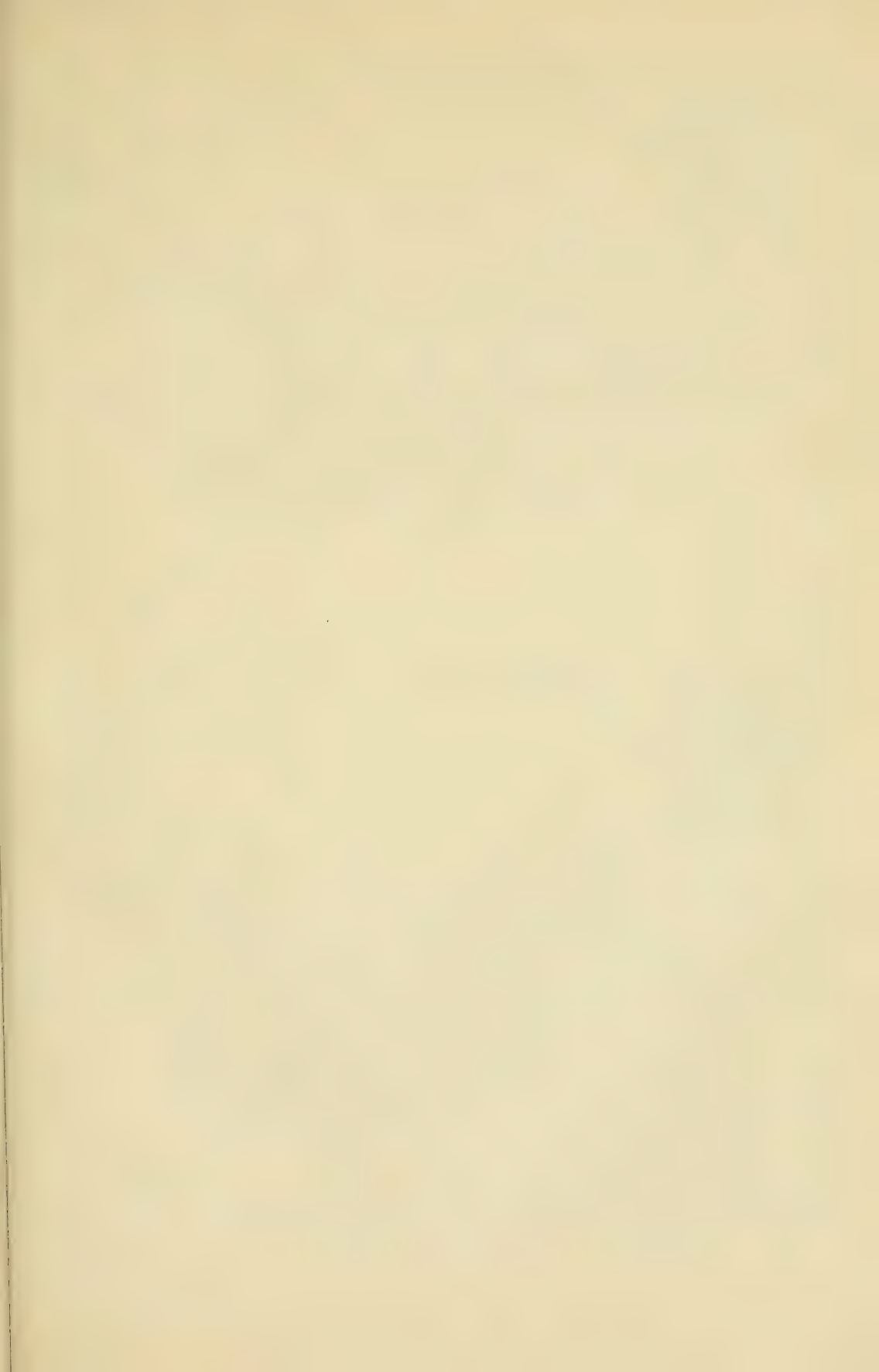
Shuckburgh, ch. 42; How and Leigh, ch. 46. 12. Conspiracy of Catiline. How and Leigh, ch. 47. 13. Cæsar in Gaul. How and Leigh, ch. 49; Shuckburgh, ch. 44. 14. Cæsar, Pompey and the Senate. Abbott, pp. 114-116; Myres, ch. 41. 15. The Legislation of Cæsar. Abbott, pp. 129-138; Horton, ch. 30; Morey, pp. 197-200; West, pp. 377-382; How and Leigh, ch. 52. 16. Roman Literature of this Period. Laing (quotations and biographies), pp. 63-197; Mackail, pp. 39-88.

GENERAL REVIEW OF PART III, DIVISIONS 1 AND 2

500-44 B.C.

TOPICS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION. 1. An outline of the main points of Roman History in chronological order from the point of view of Rome's relation to outside peoples. 2. A similar outline from the point of view of Rome's inner life. 3. The Peoples that contributed to Rome's greatness, arranged chronologically with examples (§§ 311, 313, 315, 330, 365, 381, 385-389, 393). 4. The most important dates in Roman History to 44 B.C. 5. The changes appearing in Rome's attitude toward outside peoples (§§ 325, 326, 335, 336, 358, 371, 375-378, 407, 420). 6. Roman Farming and the Farmer—as illustrating the history (§§ 314, 329, 346, 365, 381, 384). 7. Development of the Roman Army (§§ 316, 344, 399). 8. A List of the Great Men of Rome in the different periods of her history to 44 B.C. 9. Roman citizenship in the various periods of Roman history (§§ 341, 391, 394, 402). 10. An enumeration of the influences and tendencies that from the beginning of the state led up to Cæsar's supremacy (§§ 339, 366, 394, 395, 400, 407). 11. The history of the influence of commerce on Roman history (§§ 306, 312, 335, 336, 358, 377, 378, 382, 394, 408, 413).

MAP AND PICTURE EXERCISES. 1. Prepare a map of Republican Rome to accompany Paper No. 3 below. 2. Compare the Oriental heads in Plate II with the heads of Cæsar and Cicero in Plate XVIII. 3. In the same way compare the two Roman heads with the Greek heads in Plate XI. 4. Make a plan of the Roman Forum and use it to illustrate Plate XVII. 5. Prepare a map of the Mediterranean world to show—by different colored pencils or inks—the expansion of Rome in each of the three periods to 44 B.C. 6. On Plate XVI study







the Roman coins of this age and compare them with the Greek coins of Plate XV. (See Appendix II.)

SUBJECTS FOR WRITTEN PAPERS. 1. The Roman Magistrate—His Position, Powers and Duties. Abbott, pp. 150-173. 2. The Ædile—His Powers and Duties. Abbott, pp. 202-206. 3. The City of Rome down to 44 B.C. Merivale, ch. 78. 4. The Roman Senate—its Position, Powers and Duties. Abbott, pp. 220-243; Fowler, *City State*, ch. 8. 5. Rome's Treatment of Spain as Illustrative of its Dealing with Conquered Peoples. How and Leigh, pp. 240-245, 464-466; Shuckburgh, pp. 458-463, 538-545. 6. Roman Slavery as Testified to by the Romans Themselves. Sources in Munro, pp. 179-192. 7. The Carthaginian Empire. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Vol. II, Bk. 3, ch. 1. 8. Roman Roads. Dictionaries of Antiquities, articles "Via," or "Roads"; Guhl and Koner, pp. 341-344; Johnston, pp. 282-287. 9. The Story of Terence's "Phormio" as Illustrative of Roman Comedy. Laing, pp. 4-62. 10. How was Justice Administered at Rome? Abbott (§§ 65, 87, 96, 100, 182, 189, 200-203, 222, 236, 251, 309). 11. Some Roman Traditional Stories: (a) The Secessions of the Plebeians. (b) The Caudine Forks. Munro, pp. 74-77. (c) Cincinnatus. Botsford, *Story of Rome*; Yonge, *Stories of Roman History*; Church, *Stories from Livy*. 12. An Estimate of Cæsar Written by Pompey. 13. The Roman Equites (Knights)—History and Privileges. Dictionaries of Antiquities, under the name; Greenidge, "Roman Public Life," index under name. 14. The Financial Administration of the State. Abbott (§§ 184, 213, 239, 280; Greenidge, pp. 229-232, 286-287). 15. "We ought to be thankful to Cæsar every day that we live." Justify this remark.

4.—ROME'S WORLD-EMPIRE

44 B.C.—A.D. 800

423. The era of expansion beginning with 200 B.C. had put Rome in possession of the countries where the main current of historic life had hitherto run its course. A World-Empire had arisen, stretching from the Euphrates to the Atlantic. The problem, again thrown into the

PRELIMINARY
SURVEY.

358 *World-Empire under the Principate*

The
Problem
and its
Solution.

arena by Cæsar's murder, was the administration of that Empire; the course of the following epochs of ancient history is the solution of that problem—the government of the Roman world.

The
Principate.

After a brief period of confusion and warfare (44–31 B.C.), Octavius, nephew of Julius Cæsar, emerged as sole successor of his uncle, and the state was reorganized under the joint rule of Octavius and the senate. As Octavius, who was given the honorary title of Augustus, regarded his position as that of first citizen (*princeps*) in the state, the government thus established is called the Principate. It endured, with some modifications, for three centuries (31 B.C.–A.D. 284)—a series of successors of Augustus sharing with the senate the administration of the state. During this time the power of the Princes, heightened by the demands of administration and the necessities of war, steadily grew greater than that of the senate.

The
Despotism.

Finally, in 284 B.C., an able ruler, Diocletian, did away with this dual system;* the powers of the senate were abolished and the Princes became absolute monarch. The state was thoroughly reorganized. A successor, Constantine, removed the capital from Rome to a new city in the east, Constantinople. But, meanwhile, new peoples had been gathering on the borders of the Empire, particularly the Teutonic (German) tribes on the north. In the struggle to maintain itself against these, the imperial authority was shaken. In A.D. 395 these "barbarians" began to pour into the Empire in overwhelming numbers. From that time the history of the Roman state is the history of a slowly dissolving structure, until in A.D. 800 Charlemagne, a king of a Teutonic people, the Franks, who had built up a strong kingdom in Gaul, was crowned by the pope at Rome, Emperor of the Romans. With this coronation the Teutonic people take charge of the destinies of the old Roman state and bring new elements into the history of the world that mark the end of the ancient period.

The
Barbarian
Invasions.

Charle-
magne.

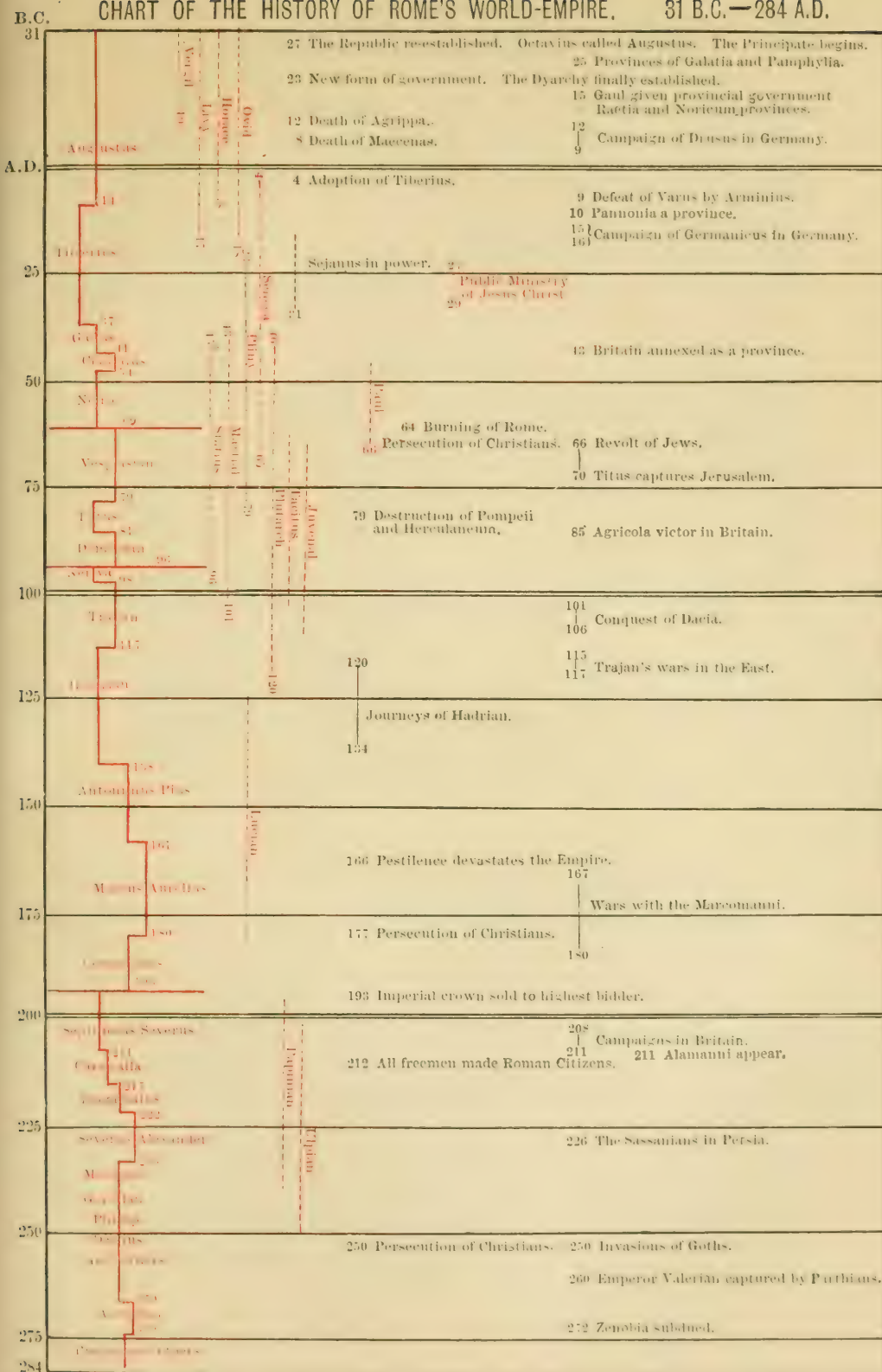
The End.

Divisions
of the
Period.

Thus the history of the period falls into three main epochs.

* This joint rule of Cæsar and the senate is sometimes called by a Greek term, Dyarchy.

CHART OF THE HISTORY OF ROME'S WORLD-EMPIRE. 31 B.C.—284 A.D.



1. The World-Empire under the Principate, 44 B.C.—A.D. 284.
2. The World-Empire under the Despotism, A.D. 284–395.
3. The Breaking-up of the World-Empire and the End of the Ancient Period, A.D. 395–800.

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

- For bibliography for advanced students and teachers, see Appendix I.
- BURY. *The Student's Roman Empire; to the death of Marcus Aurelius*. American Book Co. Full of matter, well written, an invaluable work of reference, rather too detailed for continuous reading by the beginner.
- GIBBON. *The Student's Gibbon*. American Book Co. This well-known abridgment of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* should be constantly in the hands of the student for the period with which it deals.
- MERIVALE. *General History of Rome to 476 A.D.* American Book Co. Merivale becomes especially useful in the imperial period; his narrative is full and clear, though the organization of his material is defective.

(I) THE WORLD-EMPIRE UNDER THE PRINCIPATE

44 B.C.—A.D. 284

424. The dozen years (44–31 B.C.) that followed Cæsar's murder were filled with turmoil and struggle. Those who hoped that the senate would resume control of the government were soon undeceived. Antony, consul at the time of Cæsar's death, came forward as his avenger, and by his side soon appeared Octavius, the grand-nephew

After
Cæsar—
What?

* For previous bibliographies see pp. 4, 10, 75, 249.

The Second
Trium-
virate.

Philippi.

Actium.

The Prob-
lem of
Octavius.

and heir of Cæsar,* a youth who, though but nineteen years of age, showed uncommon prudence and energy. These two united with themselves Lepidus, whom Cæsar had appointed to the province of Transalpine Gaul, a man of little force or insight. Supported by the legions, they compelled the senate to appoint them a Triumvirate for settling the affairs of the state (43 B.C.). Acting in this capacity, they avenged themselves on their enemies in Rome and filled the city with blood. Their most illustrious victim was Cicero, whose brilliant orations † against Antony in the senate, a few months before, had aroused his hatred. At the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.) they overthrew the armies of Brutus and Cassius, who had led the conspirators against Cæsar. Then Antony and Octavius, shelving Lepidus, set about their task of settling affairs, Antony taking the east and Octavius the west. Antony failed to manage his share of the administration successfully; he became entangled with Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, and let matters go at loose ends. Moreover, he quarrelled with Octavius. Finally, the two met in battle at Actium (31 B.C.), where Antony was beaten. He fled to Egypt with Cleopatra and there both perished by suicide. Octavius alone remained at the head of the state.

425. The questions that had faced Cæsar now confronted Octavius—how should the state be reorganized, and what place should he occupy in it? For answering these questions he possessed little of the genius of his uncle, that far-seeing eye, that quick grasp of all the elements in the situa-

* As adopted son of Cæsar his name was Octavianus.

† These orations were called Philippics in recollection of Demosthenes's speeches against Philip (§ 249).

tion, that daring and enthusiastic spirit which did not shrink from doing in its own way whatever was to be done. Yet Octavius had what was, perhaps, for his time, a better equipment—caution, and coolness, attachment to the past, love of peace and order, an iron will which, however, was ready to use the most available means to gain its way. With these qualities he could not follow Cæsar's path—break with the past, gather all powers into his own hand and rule the state as supreme magistrate. Had not that path led to assassination? He proposed to restore the old order and adjust his own position and power to it. Senate, magistrates and people should play their part as before in the conduct of the state. On him should be conferred extraordinary powers for the special tasks of administration which so sorely needed attention in the vast domains of the imperial state.

His Fitness
to Solve It.

His Plan.

426. In the year 27 B.C. the arrangement went into force. "I transferred the state," he says, "from my power to the control of the senate and people." He was given by them the proconsular imperium for ten years and the sacred title of Augustus. With this imperium went supreme authority over all provincial governors and sole rule over certain provinces on the frontiers where armies were needed; he was therefore master of the legions. Over these provinces he placed lieutenants responsible to himself. The other provinces were ruled by governors appointed by the senate.* He already possessed the tribunician power and for some years continued to be

The
Plan in
Operation.

* The place of Egypt in this arrangement was peculiar. It was assigned as a province to neither, but was regarded as a kind of private possession of Augustus. No senator was permitted to enter it. The reason for this was, no doubt, the immense importance of Egypt to Rome because of its corn-supply.

The
Principate.

elected consul. But, as it was not constitutional to be consul and proconsul at the same time, he laid down the consulship in 23 B.C., although retaining the rank and power, preferring to take part in civil affairs by virtue of his tribunician authority. To represent his place in the state in all its aspects he chose the title of *Princeps* or "First Citizen," whence this form of government is called the Principate. Later he was also honored with the title of *pater patriæ*, "Father of his country." From time to time his proconsular power was renewed, as the term for which it was assigned expired; the tribunician power only he held for life. The people elected magistrates and made laws; the senate administered the state through him and other officials appointed by it. Thus Augustus proudly declared that he had restored the republic. His conduct was in accordance with his word. In the city he wore the toga of a citizen and lived in his simple home on the Palatine, wearing the clothes woven by the women of his family. No escort accompanied him about the streets except such as became a magistrate, and every citizen could consult him without ceremony.

The
Republic
Restored.

The Good
Results.

427. The advantages of this arrangement were clear and its beneficial results immediate. A sense of security and satisfaction was felt everywhere. Now, at last, peace under constitutional government was obtained. A proper method of reorganizing the state and meeting the difficulties of administration was reached. The evils of the time were met with strong remedies.

(1) The
Empire
Organized.

428. The Empire was set in order. Here the central thought of Augustus was that the heart of the Empire was Italy, from the Alps to Sicily. Over against Italy and dependent upon it were the provinces. It was the "sacred

land." Its economic prosperity revived; waste lands were peopled and brought under cultivation; disorder was put down; the municipalities were given free scope to organize and govern themselves; public roads were repaired. The dignity of Italian citizenship was emphasized. Even the freedmen were given a place in the public life by the institution of the *Augustales*, a body of six men, appointed in each community, who at their own expense exhibited games in honor of Augustus. To be an Augustal was regarded as a notable distinction by the freedmen. Italy, thus set apart from the rest of the state, as the model and glory of the Empire, was governed by the senate. The provinces were dealt with in the same thorough way. Those which were under the direct rule of Augustus were managed by his legates and procurators, men selected because they were efficient administrators. They were dependent on him for advancement and honor; hence, they sought by good work to obtain his favor. The borders of the Empire were protected and the internal affairs of the provinces were regulated. An imperial coinage, guaranteed by the state as pure, was put into circulation. The army, which in the civil wars had reached the enormous size of more than fifty legions, was reduced to twenty-five. It was kept on the frontiers constantly under arms, trained and prepared for defence. It was under the direct command of Augustus. After a victory, the soldiers hailed, not their own general, as formerly, but Augustus, as Imperator. Only Roman citizens could serve in the legions. Provincials were employed as auxiliaries. Each legion had its particular name and usually its permanent quarters in a special province. By virtue of being commander-in-chief, Augustus, like

Italy the
Centre.

The
Provinces.

Officials.

Army.

Finances.

other generals, had his body-guard (the *cohors prætoria*); as he lived at Rome, his guard was stationed in the city; it was the "prætorian cohort," and under its two prefects or commanders had much influence in the state. The finances of the provinces were established on a firm basis. All the income from the provinces under Augustus came into his treasury, called the *Fiscus*,* and he had sole power over its management. Hence, there was no more stealing of public money by officials. A map of the Empire was prepared, showing the chief towns and roads of every province; a census was taken of the greater provinces, perhaps of all. The farming of taxes with all its abominations was greatly restricted. The land tax and the poll tax, the two direct taxes levied, were collected by the state; the "publican" (§ 379) still dealt in the customs and other like imposts. Thus a business administration was established which saved money and gave the state abundant revenues. Augustus spent this money freely on imperial roads and buildings throughout the Empire. By these means he created new bonds of unity which held the Roman world together as never before and brought about the extension of Roman civilization from end to end of it. We can hardly conceive the immense advantage to the provinces of this stable and beneficent government.

Foreign Policy.**The East.**

429. The policy of Augustus with respect to the peoples outside the Roman world was in general a very prudent one. In the East he had no desire to follow up the project of Julius Cæsar for a war with Parthia. He was content by skilful negotiation to obtain the return of the

* The word means "basket"; in Roman households the money-box was a basket.





battle-flags lost by Crassus (§ 415) and to increase by peaceful ways the influence of Rome beyond the Euphrates. In the west and south he devoted himself rather to re-organization than to expansion. Gaul was divided into provinces and thoroughly Romanized by public roads, commerce and law. Spain was subdivided into three provinces and completely brought under Roman control. In the years to come some of Rome's greatest citizens had their homes in these western lands. On the north the problem was more difficult. The dangers from the restless Teutonic peoples made necessary an advance into this region until a defensible frontier should be reached and the nations bordering on it brought under Roman influence. The natural boundary in the northeast was the Danube; thither Augustus pushed forward his line. Four new provinces were formed: Mœsia, Pannonia, Noricum and Rhætia, extending from the Black sea to the sources of the Danube. Connecting with these on the north and northwest the shortest boundary would be made by the Elbe. Augustus advanced across the Rhine to establish his frontiers on that river. By these means it was felt that the most dangerous border of the Roman world would be safely guarded.

The West.

The North.

430. Augustus had clear notions of the spirit which should inspire the state. He proposed to revive the old Roman ideals. The simple life of duty to the gods and service to the state was again to be supreme in Roman society. He encouraged marriage and the rearing of children; divorce, which had grown so alarmingly common, and other forms of immorality, that were destroying the purity of private life at Rome, were sternly repressed. The different orders of society were clearly

(2) Social
Life Re-
formed.

Classes of
Society
Empha-
sized.

Revival of
Religion.

marked off and fitting tasks were assigned to each. The senatorial order was purged of unworthy members and set at its task of governing its share of the state. By virtue of his censorial authority (§ 328) admission to the order was made dependent on the will of Augustus. From the equestrian order he chose his officials for the administration of the provinces assigned to him. As possessed of tribunician power he guided and curbed the Roman populace and endeavored to inspire in them interest in the elections and in the government of the city. Perhaps his supreme passion was the restoration of the old Roman religion. Ancient temples were rebuilt and the venerable worship was revived in stately splendor. In 12 B.C. he became Pontifex Maximus, the head of the Roman church. New and rich endowments were provided for the priestly colleges. The worship of the Lares (§ 314), which, above all else, was typical of the old faith, was revived. Three hundred of their shrines were raised along the streets of the city and twice a year they were adorned with flowers. By all this he sought to show that it was the ancient gods who had raised him to power and had brought peace, order and prosperity to the world. His plans largely succeeded. Religion, as the old Roman conceived it, in its best sense, lived again. The altars smoked anew with sacrifices.

Literature
Revives.

Vergil.

431. Corresponding to the glad sense of order and peace, literature and art took on new life. One of the world's greatest poets, Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 B.C.), adorned the Augustan age. His poems, the *Eclogues* picturing pastoral life, the *Georgics*, in praise of agriculture, and his chief work, the *Aeneid*, an epic which glorifies the beginnings of Rome, are all full of the spirit and

ideals that inspired Augustus. The religion that made Rome great, the sturdy faith and stalwart patriotism that filled her sons with might—these he hallowed in melodious verse and touching pictures, which gave him wondrous popularity then, and have made his name immortal in the world of poetry. His conception of the world-wide mission of Rome, her imperial destiny and the certainty of its success in the hands of Augustus, contributed mightily to the strength of the new régime. He was worthily seconded by the historian, Titus Livius (59 B.C.—A.D. 17), Livy. who used all materials which had come down to him from the past to write his *Roman History* in 142 books, from Rome's beginning to A.D. 9. He idealized the old days and found consolation for the evils of the present only in a return to the sobriety, fidelity and heroism of the past. The legends of early Rome he retells without criticism of their truth, and throws a halo of splendor over the days of the republic. With strong imagination and romantic temper he pictures the noble men and stirring scenes of early times. His style is full and flowing, and he is possessed of a fine literary art which expresses itself in the picturesque grouping of his intensely human characters. Unfortunately, only a small part of his great work has been preserved. Another literary light was Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65 B.C.—A.D. 8), the son of a freed- Horace. man. In his *Satires* he plays upon the social and literary follies of the Rome of his day; his *Epodes* are even more satirical; he reaches the height of his genius in the *Odes* and *Epistles*. A genial critic of life who sees its weaknesses yet loves it, with few ambitions beyond a glowing fireside, a good wine and a sympathetic friend, a lover of nature who was at the same time a man of the world—

he had the unique power of putting his thoughts into precise, telling phrases and of fitting them into lyrical verse of charming delicacy and force. Vergil, Livy, Horace—these three have given an enduring fame to the Augustan age, of which they are, each in his own way, the characteristic products.

Revival of
Art.

432. Monuments in bronze and marble attested the revival of art in this time. Augustus himself enlarged the Forum and built, among other temples, that of Apollo on the Palatine, of marble without, and filled with statues. From him also came the theatre of Marcellus with a seating capacity of 20,000 persons. Others vied with him in adorning the city. Agrippa, his most trusted officer, built the Pantheon, the temple of Poseidon and magnificent public baths. It is said that Augustus declared with pride: "I received a city of brick; I leave a city of marble."

The Cul-
mination.

The
Secular
Games.

433. To declare the meaning and greatness of his work, Augustus chose the celebration of the *Ludi Sæculares*, a festival which was observed every hundred years. This, the fifth time of its observance, in the year 17 B.C., was one of singular splendor. For it Horace wrote a hymn, the *Carmen Sæculare*. But a more striking, perhaps the supreme, illustration of what he had done is seen in the rise of a new object of worship—the Princeps himself. Julius Cæsar had permitted worship to be offered to himself, and a temple to the "divine Julius" was reared after his death. Now, especially by the Orientals, temples and altars were raised to Rome and Augustus. This worship he tried to repress, but in vain. It expressed too clearly the joy and gratitude of the provincials for the blessings which his administration had brought to them. Already

Cæsar-
Worship.

this kind of deification of men had found a place among the Greeks (§ 288), and Cæsar-worship soon took its place among the recognized religious cults of the time as a natural testimony to the divine character of the new Roman state, which rose high above all other powers, the symbol of universal order and peace.

434. Amid all the splendors of the Augustan age a child was born in one of the most insignificant provinces of the Empire whose sway was to surpass in power and extent the wildest dreams of the Cæsars. In the days of Herod, king of Judæa, vassal of Augustus, Jesus Christ* was born in Bethlehem of Judæa. We do not know the year. It was four or five years before the date traditionally assigned. Yet our chronology turns upon it, for the years of the world's history are numbered according as they precede the assigned year of his birth or follow it.† Jesus was the founder of Christianity, the religion which was to play a large part in the history of the Roman Empire and is professed by the so-called Christian nations of Europe and America.

The Birth
of Jesus.

435. But there was another side to all the grandeur of the Augustan age. The people of the city of Rome had too long been a prey to moral corruption to be reformed by example and precept. Unbounded luxury and gilded vice continued to be fearfully rampant among the higher classes. Even Julia, the daughter of Augustus, created scandal by her loose behavior. The lower classes still clamored for free bread and games. To them Augustus

The
Shadows in
the Scene.
Moral
Corruption.

* "Christ" is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew word "Messiah," the "anointed" (king) whom the Jews expected to appear as their deliverer.

† That is, B.C., "before Christ," and A.D., *anno Domini*, "the year of the Lord."

Ovid its
Exemplar.

had to yield in part, and his doles to them and the shows he exhibited before them surpassed even those of his predecessors. Over against the fine spirit and high ideals of a Vergil must be placed the example and popularity of other poets of the time, among whom the most prominent was Publius Ovidius Naso, better known as Ovid (43 B.C.—A.D. 18). He was not untouched by the nobler memories and hopes of his time, as his *Fasti* show—a gathering up of the ancient Roman religious customs arranged according to the religious calendar. But his *Metamorphoses*, a collection of myths of transformation, his *Art of Love*, his *Love Stories* and other poetical trifles, reveal the gay and profligate character of the society of which he was the pride and ornament. Possessed of a vivid, brilliant and graceful poetic gift, a born story-teller, he used his powers for frivolous and unworthy ends. Banished to Pontus by Augustus because of his intrigues, he exhibits in his *Tristia* the baseness of his spirit by his fawning praise of the Princeps who had justly condemned him.

Adminis-
trative Dif-
ficulties.

Growth of
Power of
Princeps.

436. Augustus's scheme of government did not work altogether as was expected. The balance of power between the senate and himself steadily swung toward his side. The senate showed incompetence in the sphere of administration assigned to it, and he was compelled to take more and more of its proper activities upon himself. In Rome, for example, he took charge of the supply of corn and its distribution to the poor and also of the water supply. The police and firemen were also under prefects appointed by him. In Italy and the senatorial provinces he had large powers. All the military forces throughout the Empire were under his orders. Sometimes he was

compelled to undertake the financial reorganization of a province which had gone bankrupt under senatorial administration. Over all senatorial officials he had the *majus imperium* (§ 420). Thus it gradually became clear how difficult it was to conduct affairs on this division of powers. No wonder that those who had hailed him as the restorer of the republic began to question whether he had not become its master. The nobles murmured. At least three conspiracies were formed against him; though they failed, the motive which inspired them was obvious. That Augustus was able to hold his position for so many years, without falling a victim to the spirit that had killed Julius, is a testimony to his prudence and vigilance. He was fortunate, also, in having two wise counsellors, Mæcenas and Agrippa. Mæcenas was a diplomatist of uncommon tact and wisdom; at the same time he was a man of the world, enormously rich, a patron of art and literature. Agrippa was the man of action as well as of counsel. He won the battle of Actium for Augustus and was intrusted by the Princeps with the direction of every critical piece of work in military or civil affairs. Both died before their master, and he was wont to say during the later and darker days of his reign: "This would not have happened, had Mæcenas or Agrippa been alive."

Conspiracies.

His Counsellors.

437. For darker days did come as the long years of Augustus drew to their close. A severe blow was struck at his military prestige, when Varus, the incompetent commander of the legions on the northern frontier, was slain and his army cut to pieces by the Germans under Arminius (A.D. 9). Augustus decided that it was impossible to keep the frontier at the Elbe and withdrew

The Disaster of Varus.

his forces to the Rhine. He enjoined this policy of cautious defence of the borders upon his successors. It is doubtful whether in this he showed his accustomed wisdom.

Problem
of the
Succession.

438. The weakest point in the arrangement between Augustus and the senate concerned the imperial succession. If he had received his appointment as princeps from the senate and people, then they could appoint as his successor whomsoever they might choose. As his was an extraordinary office, they might decide not to continue it after his death. But, in fact, Augustus was determined not only that the princeps should remain, but that the one whom he should point out should succeed him. But how

The De-
vice of
Augustus.

should this successor be indicated? Augustus decided to associate with himself this destined successor during his lifetime in such a way as to make his purpose clear. Whom, then, should he thus designate? He himself had

His Family.

married twice; his first wife bore him a daughter, Julia, whom he married to his friend and counsellor, Agrippa. Two promising sons of this marriage died before their grandfather. The third son was an impossible candidate. Augustus's second wife, Livia, had been divorced from her former husband after she had borne him two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. Drusus died before Augustus. Agrippa, his son-in-law, was at one time thought of as the chosen successor, but he, too, passed away in the lifetime of Augustus. Tiberius alone remained. Though Augustus disliked him, he was a capable, vigorous man and the choice was narrowed to him. In A.D. 4 Augustus adopted him as his son; in A.D. 13 he associated him with himself in the imperium and bestowed on him at a later date the tribunician and censorial powers. Thus there could

Choice of
Tiberius.

be no doubt whom the Princeps desired to follow him. Having gone thus far, he could not venture farther. The next year he himself died at the age of seventy-five years.

Death of
Augustus.

We are told that in the hour of death he called for a looking-glass and bade them arrange his hair and his beard. He asked his friends whether he had played well the "farce" of life. Then, alone with his own family, he asked after the health of a little child of the family who was ill, then suddenly kissed his wife Livia and expired quietly, breathing out the last words, "Livia, live mindful of our union, farewell."

439. The nearly half a century during which Augustus had conducted the plan of administration devised by himself, had established it as an abiding work. Herein is his glory, that he founded a new and permanent government for the shattered Roman state. He had done what Julius had failed to do. Order, peace, prosperity, permanence—these things he restored to the Roman world. Defective and illogical as his scheme may have been in some points, it was thoroughly timely and practical. It saved Rome from going to pieces; it formed a working basis for unity and progress; it preserved Roman civilization for centuries and gave it the opportunity to expand to the ends of the earth. For these blessings, the results of which we enjoy, we are indebted to Augustus Cæsar.

The
Achieve-
ment of
Augustus.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire. 3. Rome's Eastern Empire.
4. ROME'S WORLD-EMPIRE, 44 B.C.—A.D. 800 Preliminary Survey (the imperial problem, the Principate, the Despotism, barbarian invasions, Charlemagne, grand divisions): (1) the world-empire under the principate—the new leaders—the Triumvirate—Philippi and

374 *World-Empire under the Principate*

Actium—Octavius in control—his plan—its effects (imperial organization, foreign policy, reform in social life, religion, literature, art, Cæsar-worship)—birth of Jesus—weaknesses in the new organization (moral corruption, administrative difficulties)—military losses—the succession and its problems—death and achievement of Augustus.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following famous: Agrippa, Antony, Livy, Varus, Mæcenas, Vergil, Livia? 2. What is meant by Princeps, Fiscus, Augustales, Ludi Seculares, Prætorian Cohort, Pontifex Maximus? 3. What is the date of the battle of Actium, of the death of Augustus, of the birth of Jesus?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. What ideas of the divinity of man had appeared in the eastern world which resembled Cæsar-worship? 2. Compare the differing conditions in which Vergil and Homer (§§ 104-112) lived as illustrating the differences in their poetry. 3. Compare the political position and ideas of Augustus with those of Alexander (§§ 240, 245, 255, 263, 265, 266, 271).

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. **The Period of the Second Triumvirate.** Morey, pp. 203-212; Shuckburgh, ch. 46. 2. **The Principate.** Munro, pp. 143-148 (sources); Abbott, pp. 266-273; West, pp. 390-395; Myres, pp. 545-549; Wolfson, pp. 403-405; Seignobos, pp. 266-268; Merivale, ch. 51. 3. **The Provinces in the Scheme of Augustus.** Morey, pp. 220-224; Abbott, pp. 283-285; Merivale, pp. 409-410; Myres, pp. 553-555. 4. **The Foreign Policy of Augustus.** Myres, pp. 544-553; West, pp. 395-398; Abbott, p. 282. 5. **The Character of Augustus.** Botsford, p. 218; Morey, pp. 228-229; Horton, pp. 316-318. 6. **Roman Literature of the Augustan Age.** Laing, pp. 198-386 (biographies and quotations); Mackail, pp. 91-168.

The Successors of Augustus—the Julian Line.

440. Tiberius succeeded his stepfather without opposition. He was the first of four members of the house of Cæsar to occupy the position of Princeps. These were:

TIBERIUS (stepson of Augustus), A.D. 14-37.

GAIUS, surnamed Caligula (great grandson of Augustus and grandnephew of Tiberius), A.D. 37-41.

CLAUDIUS (uncle of Gaius and nephew of Tiberius), A.D. 41-54.
NERO (nephew of Gaius and stepson of Claudius), A.D. 54-68.

441. TIBERIUS had force of character and genuine ability, but he came to his position when over fifty years of age, and the weight of administration hung heavy upon him. His originally sensitive temperament had been rendered gloomy and suspicious by bitter experience; now placed at the head of the state, he lapsed into injustice and cruelty when opposed by the senatorial nobility. In his old age he fell under the influence of an unscrupulous favorite, Sejanus, the prætorian prefect (§ 428). Weary of his imperial burden, he retired for repose to the island of Capræ, where he performed only the necessary duties of his position, leaving the conduct of affairs to Sejanus. The latter's outrageous acts finally brought about his downfall; his patron survived him but a few years, dying at the age of seventy-seven. TIBERIUS, as a youth, was a universal favorite. The soldiers on the frontier, among whom a part of his childhood was spent, idolized him.* His elevation to the principate, at twenty-four years of age, was followed by a series of acts which promised well. But hardly a year had passed when he entered upon a course of life unparalleled for extravagance and brutality. The riches which the frugal Tiberius had gathered were dissipated in costly games and wild vice. He heaped contempt on the institutions and representatives of the republic. He made his horse consul. He demanded worship as a god. It is charity to assume that a sudden illness which fell upon him early in his career had left him

Tiberius.

Gaius.

* They called him Caligula, "little boots," because of the soldier's boots which he wore while among them as a child.

Claudius.

a madman. A conspiracy in his palace brought him to his death, and Rome drew a long breath of relief. Up to the time of his becoming princeps, CLAUDIUS was known as a timid, incapable pedant. Thrust into this high position at the age of fifty-one, he showed surprisingly excellent administrative qualities. He still pursued his antiquarian researches, made tedious speeches and wrote tiresome books. But he had good advisers and able generals, and the Empire prospered under him. His weakness of temper made him as he grew older a prey to designing women and intriguing servants. It was whispered that he died by poisoning. All men hoped the best things from NERO, who followed him. He was fond of art and literature and had imbibed a taste of wisdom from his tutor Seneca, the philosopher. The latter, with Burrus, the prætorian prefect, guided the first activities of the new ruler, who was a mere youth, seventeen years old. His mother, a capable, imperious woman, had a strong influence over him. But the quartette fell out one with another. Nero was encouraged to emancipate himself from his mother's authority, and plunged into wild excesses, while his able ministers conducted public affairs successfully. But soon his frivolous, brutal temper, thus roused, played havoc on every side. His mother was murdered. Seneca was condemned and committed suicide. Nero gave himself loose rein. He posed as a poet and public singer. Extravagant revels and unending shows wasted the imperial treasures; abominable vices and unspeakable cruelties disgraced the court. So low had he fallen in public esteem that a frightful conflagration, which destroyed the greater part of Rome, was laid at his door. Patience was at last exhausted, the legions in the prov-

Nero.

inces rebelled, and Nero fled, to die at length by his own hand. His last words were: "That such an artist as I should perish!"

442. During these years the position of the Princeps changed. The balance in his favor over against the senate was complete. His powers were, it is true, voted to him by the senate and people, but he had made sure of the position before election. Hereditary descent was recognized as giving a claim to it. The principate, therefore, in theory and form constitutional, was, in fact, a tyranny. The possession of military power was decisive; the Princeps was first of all *Imperator*—and Emperor* we shall henceforth call him. The senate was little more than his tool. Its fear of him was intensified by his assuming the right to accuse anyone of treason; an accusation meant condemnation and was followed by immediate execution at the hands of the soldiery. By this means many of the leading men of Rome were put to death. Yet a section of the proud and independent nobility, though silenced, was not subdued. They knew their rights and steadily opposed the tyranny. The emperor, in turn, knew that constitutionally he was dependent upon the senate, and did not dare go so far as to destroy it and rule alone. As a result, he looked for support to the weapons of his prætorian guard. Such an ally was dangerous; it might in time become the master.

The
Principate
as
Tyranny

The
Senatorial
Opposition.

443. The growth of the Princeps' power was an advantage to the Empire as a whole. His imperial administration came to be better organized. The emperor's helpers became officials. This was already true of his provincial officers; Claudius changed the servants of his household

Political
Progress.

Improve-
ment in Ad-
ministra-
tion.

* Emperor is only the English form of *Imperator*.

Freedmen
in Office.

Prosperity.

The
Frontier.

Annexa-
tion of
Britain.

The
Flavian
Cæsars.

also into an official class. Every great noble had freedmen to manage his private affairs, write his correspondence and keep his accounts. But the emperor's accounts and correspondence were those of an Empire, and the men who attended to these became of great importance to the state. They were recognized as state officials and were organized for more efficient service. Under this improved public service the prosperity of the provinces advanced. The unifying of the Empire by a common government and by the spread of commerce and culture, went on rapidly. The personal character of the emperors and their doings at Rome, whether good or bad, did not affect the well-ordered system. Egypt, for example, was never so prosperous as under Nero. The same progress is found in relation to the frontiers. In general the cautious policy of Augustus was followed (§ 429). Military roads and fortifications strengthened the Rhine frontier. Claudius made a notable addition to the Empire by annexing Britain in 43 B.C. From that time the island, though not entirely subjugated, began to come under the direct influence of Roman civilization. The same ruler enlarged the Empire in Africa, where he formed two new provinces. Dependent kingdoms like Thrace and Judæ were turned into provinces by him. At the close of this period there were twenty-five provinces under the control of the emperor.

444. The revolt of the legions, before which Nero took his own life and thus left the principate vacant, was followed by a brief period of anarchy (A.D. 68-69), in which four generals, Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Vespasian, were proclaimed imperators by their troops and each was recognized by the senate. In the struggle that followed, Vespasian came out victor. He and his two sons who followed

him constitute the house of the Flavian Cæsars. They reigned as follows:

VESPASIAN, A.D. 69-79.

TITUS, A. D. 79-81.

DOMITIAN, A.D. 81-96.

445. VESPASIAN was an experienced commander and administrator. He was of humble origin, the son of a Sabine centurion and money-lender. He brought to the principate shrewd common-sense and practical ability, coupled with unpolished manners and provincial speech, which were a stock subject of ridicule with the Roman nobles. But he knew how to rule wisely and well, joining firmness with justice and forbearance toward his enemies, and restoring the shattered finances of the state by such careful economies that he was thought stingy and sordid. He appreciated the dignity of his office and was worthy of it. When at the age of seventy years the pains of death came upon him, he struggled to his feet declaring that the emperor should die standing. The early life of his son TITUS led men to expect in him a second Nero. They were happily disappointed. He, like his father, sought to live up to his high position; he abandoned his vices and boon companions. To his enemies he was splendidly gracious; to the people lavishly generous. He thought that day lost in which he had not given something away. "The darling of humanity" is the descriptive phrase of a later historian. The terrible eruption of Vesuvius, which destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum (A.D. 79), a disastrous fire at Rome, a wasting pestilence which devastated Italy, gave him unequalled opportunities for exercising his benevolence, and he was not found wanting. It has been questioned whether in time the vexatious prob-

Vespasian.

Titus.

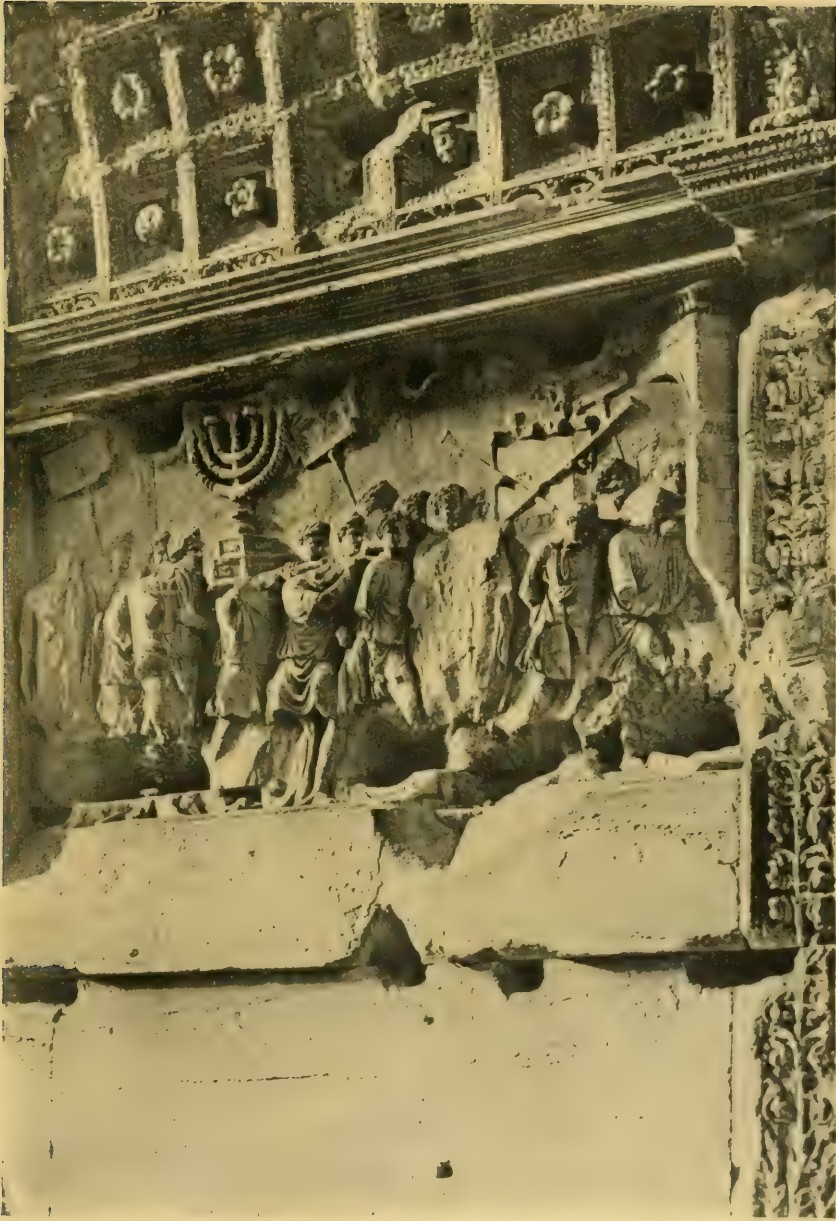
lems of imperial rule would not have changed him for the worse. As it was, after scarcely two years of power, he died, loved and mourned by all. His younger brother, DOMITIAN, was a passionate, ambitious character who, held back by his father and brother during their lifetime, was all the more eager to rule. People called him a "bald-headed Nero," but if, like that ruler, he was corrupt and vicious in his private life, as an administrator he was able and successful. In many respects he resembled Tiberius, whom he took as his model. His haughty air and lordly bearing made enemies for him among the nobility, and their renewed hostility turned him into a suspicious and cruel tyrant. He perished by the daggers of his attendants after a reign of fifteen years.

Political
Progress.

Reorgan-
ization of
the Senate.

The
Succession.

446. Two important political changes date from the Flavian emperors. (1) They made much of the office of censor, by which they had large power over the senate. Domitian held it for life. By virtue of this censorial authority Vespasian enlarged the senatorial order (§ 430), which had become thinned out by civil war and executions. He chose new senators from the most honorable citizens throughout Italy and the Empire. Thus to the old nobility was added a new official aristocracy created by the emperor and friendly to him. (2) Vespasian met the problem of the succession by emphasizing the hereditary right of his sons to follow him. He associated them with himself and designated them as his successors. In the same way Titus made Domitian a colleague. The name Cæsar was taken as an imperial title, as though these emperors were descended from Augustus. The result of all these measures was to raise the dignity and mark the supremacy of the Princeps.



Spoils of the Jewish War

RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS IN ROME

The senate had less and less importance; the people none.

447. Apart from the reorganization of the finances of the state and the restoration of order and peace by these emperors, three imperial tasks call for special mention.

Imperial
Advance.

(1) The province of Judæa (§ 413) broke out in a fierce rebellion in A.D. 66. Vespasian had been sent against the rebels, and it was while he was fighting there that his legions proclaimed him emperor. When he went to Rome, he left the conduct of the war to Titus. Among the Jews there were many who preferred Roman rule, but a body of violent fanatics gained the upper hand, destroyed the Roman garrison in Jerusalem and slaughtered right and left. Finally Titus shut up the rebels in Jerusalem. For five awful months the Romans besieged and assaulted the city, until at last the rebels held only the Temple hill. The whole was finally taken by assault and burned to the ground (A.D. 70). (2) The Empire was extended in the west and north of Britain. The legions were under the command of an able general, Agricola, who advanced into Scotland. His fleet also circumnavigated the island. (3) On the German frontier Rome advanced across the upper Rhine and a fortified wall more than a hundred miles in length was begun, to connect the upper waters of the Rhine and the Danube. Behind this rampart lay a strip of land called the *Agri Decumates*, which was thus added to the Empire. It was in no sense a change in the defensive policy of Augustus, but a measure of protection for Roman colonists and a stronger means of defence against the Germans.

The
Revolt of
Judæa.

Destruction
of Jerusa-
lem.

Britain.

Germany.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire. 3. Rome's Eastern Empire.

4. ROME'S WORLD-EMPIRE.

(1) The world-empire under the principate—the Julian line—personality and history—administration of these Cæsars (tyranny and opposition; organization of officials)—foreign politics—anarchy—the Flavian Cæsars—personality and history—political advance (the senate, the succession)—foreign politics (Judæa, Britain, Germany).

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. Name the emperors of this century in chronological order. 2. What is meant by Agri Decumates, prætorian prefect, the title Cæsar? 3. For what are the following famous: Seneca, Sejanus, Jerusalem, Pompeii, Agricola? What is the date of the annexation of Britain, of the fall of Jerusalem?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the policy of the Flavian Cæsars regarding the problem of the Succession with that of Augustus. 2. As far as good government goes, how does the first century A.D. of Roman rule compare with the first century B.C.? 3. What was the difference between the demands made upon an emperor by the City of Rome and by the Provinces? Could they be reconciled? 4. "I wish that the Roman people had but one neck, that I might strike it off with one blow." "I wish to govern the state not as my property but that of my people." Show how both these sayings are characteristic of a Roman emperor.

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Problem of Tiberius. Munro, pp. 149-152 (source); Merivale, pp. 430-436; Abbott, pp. 288-289; Bury, pp. 189-195, 209-213. 2. Life and Character of Sejanus. Merivale, pp. 438-442. 3. Internal Politics under the Julian Cæsars. Abbott, ch. 13. 4. Imperial Politics under the Julian Cæsars. Morey, ch. 24; Merivale, pp. 430-478; Bury, pp. 166-187, 206-209, 238-245, 258-270, 305-321. 5. The Burning of Rome under Nero. Laing, pp. 424-431 (source); Bury, pp. 285-288. 6. The Flavian Cæsars—Their Personality and Achievement. Merivale, pp.

501-513; Abbott, ch. 14; Bury, ch. 21. 7. The Jewish War. Merivale, pp. 495-500; Bury, pp. 366-373. 8. The Destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Laing, pp. 455-460 (source).

448. The century of imperial Rome closing with the death of Domitian presents a brilliant and instructive picture, when viewed from the side of social life. In studying it, we must observe, however, that our information comes chiefly from the capital. Rome was the centre of literature, and its life is reflected in the writings which have come down to us. Italy and the provinces contributed but little to the picture, and what little comes from them reveals, in many respects, a notable difference in the purity and simplicity of their life and manners from those that prevailed in the great city.

Social
Progress.

A Warning

449. In social classes and their relations the old Roman distinctions (§ 430), emphasized by Augustus, grew more rigid. At the summit stood the Princeps and the senatorial order. The rulers that followed Augustus imitated him in the formal rejection of special titles and in not encouraging an elaborate court etiquette. Yet little by little, with increasing powers, they assumed greater state. A court grew up; the "friends" of the emperor paid him formal visits every day; his house became a palace,* and was filled with servants and courtiers. A similar stateliness appears in the households of the senatorial nobility. Immensely rich and standing next to the emperor, they kept up splendid establishments. A curious feature is the system of clients. The old Roman client (§ 316) became a mere courtier and parasite. Every morning he visited his noble patron to pay his respects. If a poet, he

Social
Classes.

The Court.

Senators.

The
Client.

* Our word "palace" comes from *Palatium*, the Palatine Hill, where the emperor dwelt.

recited his verses; if a wit, he amused the great man by jests; if a common man, he followed in his train when the senator went out on the street. For these services all expected rewards, food or money or patronage of some sort.

Knights. Beneath the senatorial was the equestrian order (knights), whose members were immersed in business or official duties. They, too, were men of great wealth. Next came

Lower Classes. the mass of ordinary citizens, divided into a middle class, doubtless respectable and well-to-do, but of whom we know little, and the lowest classes, who were restless and wretchedly poor, dependent on state doles for food and on the public shows for amusement. Then there were the freedmen, who were often wealthy and influential by reason of their positions as confidential servants in the great houses, or because of their business activities. The various foreigners from the provinces formed another body, a crowd of Egyptians, Syrians, Jews and others, who had sought the capital for the opportunities afforded by it of making an easy living. Beneath all was the enormous body of slaves who performed all sorts of tasks in the household, the manufactories and the mines, on the streets and the farms. A Roman house could not be managed without slaves. In the great mansions they performed all sorts of services for the members of the household. Their duties were carefully specialized; besides a slave to keep the door, or a slave to call the name of the guest, the noble had a special slave to put on his sandals and a special slave to fold his clothes.

Occupations.

450. In considering the occupations of the period we observe that some activities which hitherto were thought unworthy have risen into favor. Such were teaching and medicine. Citizens became wealthy and distinguished

as physicians. An income of \$10,000 a year was obtained by one famous specialist. Other Romans trained themselves as teachers of rhetoric and philosophy and gained large fees. We hear of successful booksellers. The law became a most important profession. The immense extension of Roman business and political interests gave a rich field for the lawyer. To win his case he must be a good speaker, and Roman legal oratory was famous the world over.

The increase of Roman wealth and the expansion of the Roman horizon resulted in the improvement of the Art of Living. This is seen in studying (*a*) the house, (*b*) food and dress, (*c*) the amusements of Rome.

Art of
Living.

451. The simple one-room house of old Rome (§ 348) had grown into an extensive and magnificent mansion. The improvements of the later day (§ 385) were carried further. The height of splendor was reached in the famous palace of Nero, the "Golden House," "the most stupendous dwelling-place ever built for mortal man." Country-houses were of great size and marvellously adorned. Ivory, marble, gems and gold were lavishly employed for decoration. Even a provincial town like Pompeii could boast elegant private mansions. There the house of Pansa occupied an entire square. It had more than sixty rooms on the ground floor, of which half, being on the street and separate from the interior, were rented for shops. Back of the peristyle (§ 385) were five great rooms opening on a long veranda which faced a garden covering a space one-third as large as the house. The most remarkable ornamentation in houses of this age was the mosaic and fresco work. Statues, paintings and bric-à-brac abounded; the furniture was highly ornamental and costly.

The House.

Dress.

452. Little change is seen in Roman dress except in the costliness of the materials. The *lacerna*, or cloak, was often worn in addition to the toga. Garments of silk and linen began to appear. Extravagant display of jewels, a weakness of Roman women (§ 348), is characteristic. The popular gem was the pearl; strings of pearls of great size and purity were highly prized. Caligula's wife had a set of pearls and emeralds valued at nearly \$2,000,000.

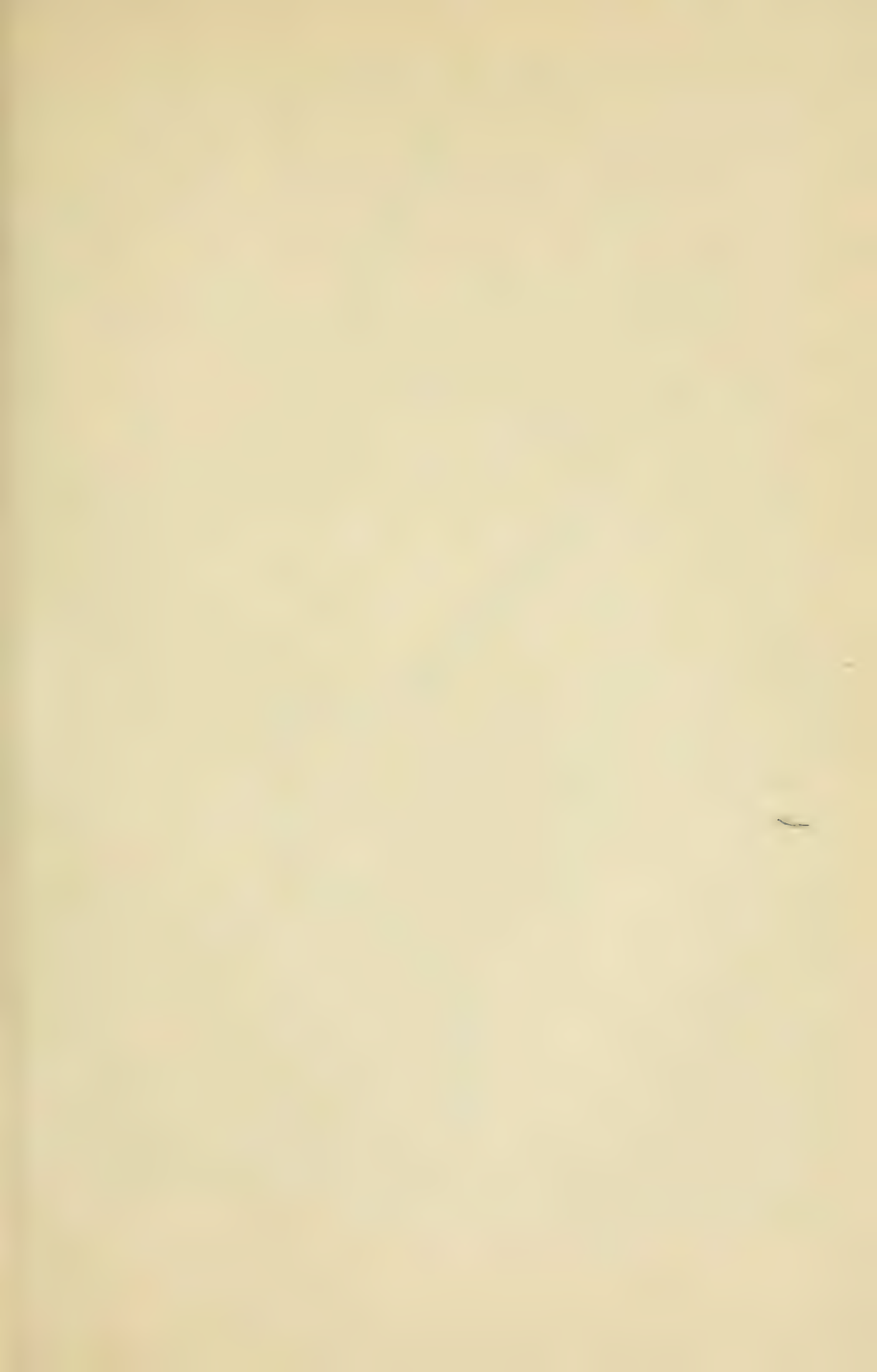
Food.

The growing refinement of taste in food and the lavish extravagance at banquets, already referred to (§ 385), reached a great height. Rare and costly dainties were sought from the ends of the earth; dinners of twenty courses were given. Gluttony became an art and the Roman nobles were unrivalled masters in it. This wanton extravagance, however, testifies to a greater variety of food and a finer taste among all classes of society. Three courses, consisting of kid or chicken with eggs and asparagus and fruit, was probably an ordinary bill of fare for a dinner among well-to-do people and indicated a variety and refinement in eating of which old Rome knew nothing.

Amuse-
ments.

Holidays.

453. In a society of luxurious wealth and idle poverty amusements are a necessity, and the Romans never plunged so deeply into them as at this time. The number of holidays grew; there were eighty-seven in a year under Tiberius. Two favorite holiday seasons were the *Saturnalia*, beginning December 17, and New Year's Day. The former was a season of riotous fun, when the ordinary conditions of life were reversed. Slaves could do as they liked; crowds thronged the streets, laughing and feasting. New Year's Day was an official and religious holiday. Visits were exchanged among friends. The emperor received











The City of ROME under the Empire.

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Scale of Feet.

-  Baths
-  Fora and Porticoes
-  Circuses, Theatres etc.
-  Temples
-  Imperial Palaces
-  Aqueducts



1. Baths of Diocletian.
2. Baths of Constantine.
3. Baths of Titus.
4. Baths of Caracalla.
5. Baths of Agrippa.
6. Baths of Nero.
7. Coliseum.
8. Circus Maximus.
9. Circus Flaminius.
10. Theatre of Marcellus.
11. Theatre of Balbus.
12. Stadium of Domitian.
13. Odeum of Domitian.
14. Circus.
15. Amphitheatre Castrense.
16. House of Gaius.
17. House of Tiberius.
18. House of Augustus.
19. House of Domitian.
20. Pompey's Portico.
21. Forum of Trajan.
22. Forum of Augustus.
23. Forum of Vespasian.
24. The Forum.
25. Portico of Philippi.
26. Portico of Octavian.
27. House of Vectilian.
28. Temple of Venus and Rome.
29. Temple of Jupiter.
30. Emporium.
31. Mausoleum of Hadrian.
32. Citadel.

the people in state. At both seasons gifts were made. All classes of the people were accustomed to give something to the emperor, and in return he made a splendid festival or reared statues and temples. But the chief centres of amusement remained, now as before, the Amphitheatre, the Circus and the Theatre. The splendor of the shows and the races almost surpasses description, while the buildings in which they were held were of extraordinary number and size. Of amphitheatres the greatest was the Coliseum at Rome, built by the Flavian emperors. It covered nearly six acres and accommodated 80,000 spectators. Here were held the gladiatorial contests (§ 386), which had now become a favorite spectacle. More elaborate methods of fighting were introduced. The whole system occupied a recognized place in Roman life. All sorts of contests were held. Wild beasts were imported to fight with each other or with men. The arena was flooded and naval battles were fought. The shows were advertised, and the entire population of Rome, from emperor to slave, attended and enjoyed the scenes of blood. In the Circus the races were almost equally popular. Here organization increased the interest; rival establishments were distinguished by their colors, the red, the white, the green, the blue. The populace, and even the emperors, took sides and great sums were wagered. Successful charioteers, although slaves or freedmen, and without social rank, became popular idols and gained immense wealth. An inscription in honor of one, Crescens, who died at twenty-two, tells us that he won forty-seven races and received \$78,000. The Circus Maximus was enlarged to accommodate the crowds that flocked to these races until it held 400,000 persons. The theatrical exhi-

The Amphitheatre.

The Circus.

The
Theatre.

The Bath.

bitions were of a low order; pantomime was the favorite form of acting, and the crowds that attended were amused by vulgar jests and debasing scenes. Another form of amusement must be mentioned—the Bath. Public bathing-houses, established at an earlier day (§ 385), became numerous and splendid. People bathed for pleasure several times a day. Bathers, for a fee of less than one penny, had entrance to what was practically a luxurious club-house. In connection with the bath proper were bowling-alleys and a gymnasium. Colonnades and resting and lounging rooms adorned with pictures, a restaurant, shops and a library completed the outfit of a first-class bathing establishment at Rome. Even a daily paper, published by the government, containing news of the city and official announcements, was at the service of curious and idle readers.

Amuse-
ments
Outside
Rome.

454. The Romans carried with them these forms of pleasure all over the world. In Africa, on the Danube and in the borders of the Eastern desert the ruins of amphitheatres and baths may be seen to-day in the cities where the Romans ruled. In Pompeii, which was a small Italian town, there were three bathing establishments, two theatres, seating respectively 1,500 and 5,000 people, and an amphitheatre with a capacity of 20,000 persons. When we remember that these admirably built and decorated structures were for the use and enjoyment of the people at large, we may realize the place and influence of these amusements in the life of the Roman world.

Art.

455. Turning to the higher life of the century we observe first the art and literature. At no previous period in human history were these so widely diffused. Cities

had their libraries and their fine public buildings adorned with statues of the emperors and other distinguished men of the past and present. The private houses, if we may judge from those of Pompeii, were beautified with mosaics and wall-paintings; artistic objects, large and small, abounded. Rich men were patrons of artists and writers, and could criticise their productions with taste and judgment. A marvellous number of good works of art have come down to us from these times. Yet nowhere is there evidence of originality or genius. The artists are imitators or copyists of the past. Yet the Roman portrait statues are notable artistic successes. It was characteristic of the Roman to wish to preserve portraits of his ancestors (§ 351) and the noble art of sculpture gave him the opportunity to make these portraits enduring in marble and bronze. While seeking to portray his subjects to the life, the artist seems sometimes to have permitted himself to idealize them; a portion of the Greek grace and charm has been joined with the Roman vigor and literalness. The long series of the statues or busts of the emperors is the supreme illustration of this art. In the achievements of architecture and engineering the Roman shows his power. The massive buildings, the enduring roads, the extensive and graceful aqueducts, the ruins of which remain in all the lands that acknowledged the imperial sway, these are the witnesses of that practical genius so truly characteristic of the Roman. That genius reached its height under the Empire in such buildings as the Coliseum, the palaces of the Cæsars and the aqueducts of Rome.

Portrait
Statues.

Archi-
tecture.

456. The literature of the time, like the art, was widely distributed and highly finished, but it was not genuine

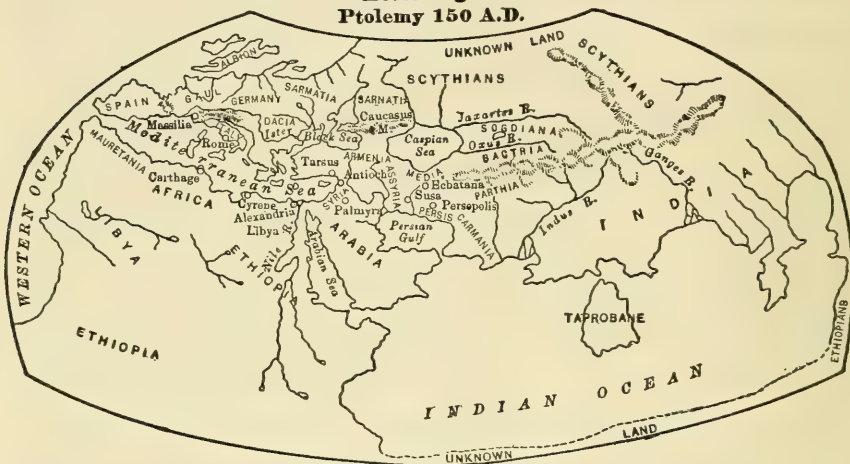
Literature

Under the
Julian
Cæsars.

and powerful. Following the Augustan writers (§ 431) came a variety of authors of whom only a few strike high. It is remarkable, also, that they hail mostly from the provinces. To the period of the Julian Cæsars belongs Seneca, the minister of Nero, as its chief literary star,

Seneca.

THE WORLD
According to
Ptolemy 150 A.D.



(A.D. 4-65). He wrote essays and letters on morals in the spirit of the Stoic philosophy and in an ornate rhetorical style which is always clear and strong and sometimes eloquent. His tragedies, while attaining some fame, are less significant works. Another courtier of Nero, who was also a writer, was Petronius, who has the distinction in literary history of having written the first novel. The fragments of it which have been preserved are witty and realistic. One of its characters, Trimalchio, a rich fool, has been the original of many similar personages in fiction. A richer literary life opens under the Flavian Cæsars—a period which, in comparison with that of Augustus, has been called the Silver Age. Its chief poet was Statius (about A.D. 45-96), whose epic poem, the *Thebais*, cen-

Petronius.

Under the
Flavian
Cæsars.
Statius.

tring about the mythical wars of Thebes, falls just short of greatness. Martial (43-101 A.D.) wrote *Epigrams*, short stanzas, witty, stinging or complimentary, as desired by the patrons to whom he paid court. They present a vivid picture of Roman life in his day. Pliny, the elder of the name, was the great scholar of the time (23-79 A.D.). He was an imperial official who, in the course of his duties, gathered a mass of information which he condensed into the most important of his works that has been preserved, the *Natural History*. He was a diligent student and careful observer. While his conclusions are valuable only as illustrating the ideas of his time, the facts he gathered are of the greatest interest to all later students of the geography and history of the Empire. Another learned prose writer was Quintilian, a distinguished teacher of rhetoric. He gathered the results of his observation and study in a notable work on the *Art and Science of Rhetoric*, which formed for centuries the standard treatise on the subject. Two subjects treated in it still have living interest, a criticism of the great Roman writers of the past and a theory of how children should be educated. Such a work covered in reality the whole subject of education, since the method and subjects of that discipline were based upon what the ancients called rhetoric. To become a good speaker and writer, to argue your cause skilfully, or to express your thoughts with elegance and force—this was the end of education.

Martial.

Pliny
the
Elder.

Quintilian.

457. When looked at from the point of view of its moral and religious life, this century shows strange contradictions. It seems impossible to believe that a world which ran after amusements such as the brutal gladiatorial shows, or was wedded to such luxury and extravagance as we have

Morals.

Contra-
dictions.

The Dark
Side.

described, could be moved by serious things. Other sides of life disclose like dark pictures. The mad thirst for money led to all sorts of wickedness. The legacy-hunter who paid court to rich old bachelors in order to be remembered in their wills was a recognized character in society. Others did not hesitate to forge wills or to remove by poisoning those who stood in the way of their inheritance. Marriage was now a mere civil contract and the wife retained control of her property. Common and easy as divorce had become, marriage was, nevertheless, regarded as undesirable. A man who married, some thought, was out of his sober senses. He would be much more sought after in society if he remained single.

The
Brighter
Side.

458. To offset this dark side, we need to remember that such scenes are found at Rome only and that they are characteristic of a society in which both the rich at the top and the poor at the bottom are idle—a perfectly unnatural state of things. In the provinces a healthy and sober life was the rule, and from them a stream of new strength was poured into the capital. Moreover, the worst phases of Roman life appeared under the Julian Cæsars. In the time of the Flavians a much higher tone of morals is to be observed. In the first half of the century the Romans had gone crazy from excess of power and riches; in the latter half they came back to reason.

Moral
Philosophy.

459. The popularity of philosophy in Rome throws a brighter gleam over these times. The moral system of the Stoics was the favorite. When we recall the principles of that school (§ 293), we cannot fail to see how they would fall in with the practical bent of the Roman mind. For the old Roman notion of doing one's duty to the state and the gods, the Stoic only substituted a larger ob-

ligation to the world, to nature. Virtue came to be a fad, and devotion to virtue even unto death an exquisite delight. Thus suicide was elevated into a sacred duty. The Stoic idea of the brotherhood of man had a softening influence upon the harsh treatment of the slave. "Treat slaves," says Seneca, "as inferiors in social rank to whom you stand in the position of protector." The education of the poor was encouraged by free schools, such as Vespasian founded, and many rich men gave donations for free education to their native towns. Humane feeling was roused at the sight of suffering, weakness and helplessness. The disasters and pestilences that afflicted parts of the Empire gave occasion for social help and sympathy. Even kindness to animals was approved. Seneca protests against the cruelty of the Amphitheatre. But his own actions illustrate the strange contradictions of his day. He preached virtue and encouraged Nero in vice. He commended poverty and was worth millions. Many rich men flung themselves with equal zeal into the pleasures of life and the instructions of virtue. They employed philosophers to teach them the way of right living and received their teachings with enthusiasm, but did not practise them. Yet, after all, the standards of morals and the ideals of life were sensibly lifted by the influence of philosophy.

460. The first century of the Empire could hardly be said to be deeply religious. The vigorous attempt of Augustus to revive the old Roman faith resulted in little more than giving it an official and formal life. The strongest religious feelings of the time gathered, no doubt, about the worship of the Cæsars, which Augustus had permitted, though not encouraged (§ 433). It continued

Religion.

Cæsar-
Worship
Developed.

Eastern
Cults.

to meet a popular need for the expression of gratitude, awe and satisfaction felt by high and low alike in view of the grandeur and the beneficence of the imperial organization. Assemblies were organized in the provinces for the purpose of carrying on this worship and holding a religious festival in honor of the emperor. Officials were elected to superintend the affair, and participation in the worship was regarded not only as a privilege, but also as a sign of proper loyalty to the state. Oriental faiths, pre-eminently that of Isis, the Egyptian goddess, continued to be popular with the lower classes, who found cheer and inspiration for their wretched lives in the emotional appeal of the noisy and startling performances of such cults and in the promise of future happiness which they held out.

Rise of
Christian-
ity.

461. Among these new religions from the East one which began to make its way in the Roman world of this age requires special consideration. Jesus, whose birth in Judæa has already been mentioned (§ 434), began at the age of thirty to preach and teach in Palestine. He proclaimed himself the Messiah, or Christ, for whom the Jews were looking as a deliverer. But he taught a spiritual deliverance from sin as the highest good and would not lead a rebellion against Rome. The Jewish authorities denounced him before the Roman governor, Pilate, and he was crucified after having taught a little more than two years (A.D. 29). But he left behind him a band of disciples who proclaimed that he had risen from the dead and thus had sealed the truth of his teaching. They, also, were bidden by him to preach the new doctrine of salvation from sin through the risen Christ to all who would hear, with the assurance that he would soon return to earth to rule as supreme lord. Among those



THE STORY OF JONAH : EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

who were gained for the cause was a Jew named Paul. He carried the name and doctrine of the Christ to non-Jews or Gentiles and gathered companies of believers in the cities of Asia Minor and Greece. These believers were first called Christians in Antioch. Soon assemblies, or churches, of Christians were founded in the west, at Rome and as far as Spain and Gaul. To many of these churches Paul wrote letters explaining the doctrines of Christ as he understood them. Soon narratives of the life and work of Jesus were written down and sent about among the churches. Thus a book of Christian writings was begun, the book we call the *New Testament*. The organization of these churches was very simple at first. Each church was a unit, its members managing its affairs and choosing officers to lead—deacons to minister to the poor, elders * to preside at its assemblies. Admission to the circle was conditioned on confession of faith in Christ as Saviour and submission to the rite of baptism. At stated seasons the members met and partook of bread and wine in obedience to the command of Jesus at his Last Supper with his disciples.

Paul.

The New Testament.

Organization.

462. The new brotherhood soon came under the notice of the imperial authorities. Its secret meetings and ceremonies were suspected of evil designs, and the belief of its members in one God brought them into opposition to the worship of the emperors. The first action against them was taken by Nero, who laid upon them the charge of setting fire to Rome, and put many to death. They were accused of evil practices and systematically punished. Gradually the refusal of the Christians to join in the

Opposition to Christianity.

* These elders appear under two names, both Greek, *presbyter*, or priest, and *episcopos*, or bishop.

Persecu-
tion.

How Far
Justified.

worship of the emperors came to be the chief ground of their punishment. They were regarded as disloyal to the Empire and punished as traitors. Thus Domitian is said to have persecuted them cruelly on this account. The Empire, therefore, at the end of the first century regarded all Christians as worthy of death. In spite of this, the new religion spread widely, especially in Asia Minor, Greece and Egypt. The city of Rome possessed a flourishing church, and its adherents were found even in the imperial court. The pure morals, the brotherly love, the joyful spirit and the hopeful confidence of the members of this faith commended it to those everywhere who by reason of poverty or sinfulness or scepticism sought light, strength and peace—and many such there were in the Roman world. All who joined it looked forward to the speedy return of Christ to earth; they cared nothing for society and the state; they would not join in heathen worship; they doubted whether it was right to serve in the army. By this separateness they were laying up for themselves hatred and contempt on the part of the people and the Empire.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire. 3. Rome's Eastern Empire.
4. ROME'S WORLD-EMPIRE [Augustus, the Julian and Flavian Cæsars]: social life (class distinctions, the court and the orders)—occupations—art of living (house, dress, food)—amusements (holidays, amphitheatre, circus, theatre, bath, their world-wide extension)—art and architecture—literature—moral and religious life (dark and bright sides, philosophy, imperial religion)—Christianity (its origin, Jesus, Paul, organization, opposed by the imperial authorities, attitude of its adherents).

Emperors of the Second Century 397

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. For what are the following significant: Seneca, Paul, Crescens, Pliny the Elder, Isis, Martial? 2. What is meant by messiah, imperial client, Saturnalia, Gentiles, legacy-hunter, Stoicism, New Testament?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare the Stoicism of Rome with the Stoicism of Greece (§ 293). 2. Why was the craze for amusements in Rome so much greater than in Athens? 3. "As many slaves, so many enemies." How does this saying reveal Roman character?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. Social Life at Rome in the First Century. Morey, ch. 25; Wolfson, ch. 34; Botsford, ch. 15; Bury, ch. 31. 2. Roman Amusements. Munro, pp. 207-216 (sources); Bury, pp. 607-626; Thomas, ch. 4; Wilkins, ch. 3; Johnston, ch. 9. 3. Education of the Time. Munro, pp. 193-197 (sources); Bury, pp. 598-600. 4. Literature of the Silver Age. Botsford, pp. 239-242; Bury, pp. 457-475; Mackail, pp. 171-204. 5. The Rise of Christianity. Seignobos, pp. 362-366; Wolfson, pp. 447-451; West, pp. 423-428; Botsford, pp. 262-264, 281-282; Gbbion, pp. 109-111.

463. Domitian was followed by a series of rulers equal in character and achievement to Tiberius and Vespasian. In the century of their leadership the Empire reached its climax. Their names are as follows:

The
Emperors
of the
Second
Century.

NERVA, A.D. 96-98.

TRAJAN (adopted son of Nerva), A.D. 98-117.

HADRIAN (relative and adopted son of Trajan), A.D. 117-138.

ANTONINUS (adopted son of Hadrian), A.D. 138-161.

MARCUS AURELIUS (adopted son of Antoninus), A.D. 161-180.

COMMODUS (son of Aurelius), A.D. 180-192.

464. On the death of Domitian the senate chose as Princeps, NERVA, a senator of more than sixty years. An aged, kindly ruler, his chief service to the state during his

Nerva.

Trajan.

short reign was the selection of TRAJAN as his successor. Trajan was a Spaniard by birth and an able general. As Princeps, he showed himself equally vigorous in the management of the Empire. He was a tall, strong, handsome man, of genial manners, not highly cultured, but with a broad and active mind. He selected his officials wisely and won their respect, yet kept careful watch upon their doings and required minute reports from them. During long periods he was occupied on the various frontiers with military campaigns. In them he gained brilliant victories and enlarged the Empire. In this respect he struck out a new path. He died in Asia Minor while returning

Hadrian.

from a victorious war in the east. HADRIAN, his successor, is a most interesting character. A tried soldier, he proved himself also a practical administrator. But his most striking trait was his wide interest in all the affairs of politics and life. He was well educated and dabbled in literature, art and philosophy. He travelled into every nook and corner of his wide domains. He was not attracted by military glory. A peaceful reign, with the opportunity it gave him for consolidating and improving the state and for following out the bent of his eager inquiring spirit, was his ambition. He was the first emperor to wear a beard, and his love of letters gave him the nickname of "Greekling." He had no capacity for personal friendship; men respected, but did not love him. The Roman world was his pride and joy; he left it happier and stronger than it had ever been before. In the hour of death he composed the famous poetic address to his soul, two lines of which are characteristic of the man:

Whither wilt thou hie away,
Never to play again, never to play.

465. A senator of Gallic descent, ANTONINUS, became his successor at the age of fifty-two. From his name, he and his two successors are called the Antonines. He was a quiet, frugal ruler, without striking qualities, yet sustaining with dignity and honor the duties of his position. So economical was he in the finances of the Empire that he was called the "cheese-parer." His devotion to religion was particularly marked. From this trait he received the name Pius, "devout." In this respect he prepared the way for MARCUS AURELIUS, the most extraordinary man who occupied the imperial throne. From his youth Marcus had been a student of moral philosophy of the Stoic type (§ 293), and in his exalted station he sought only to carry out his high ideals. Much of the activity of an emperor was distasteful to him, but he was proud that everywhere he did his duty as a philosopher should. He sought to carry into practice the sentiments of love for mankind which he cherished. Severe toward himself, he disdained luxury and preferred hardship in spite of the fact that he was always in poor health. Though he loved peace and desired to relieve suffering, his reign was darkened by a series of disastrous wars and a terrible pestilence. His family life was not pleasant, perhaps through his own fault. His son was unworthy of him. His sole joys were found in the circle of his fellow philosophers and in his own lofty meditations. He died at the age of sixty, while campaigning against barbarian invaders on the Danube. His worthless son, COMMODUS, followed him at the age of nineteen and brought the happy age of the Antonines to a sorry end. Cruel and depraved in tastes, weak and vain in disposition, he preferred games to government. His highest glory was to win in the gladiatorial contests

Antoninus
Pius.

Marcus
Aurelius

Commodus

and to be hailed as the Roman Hercules. To his prætorians only was he attentive and they were the bulwark of his rule. He was strangled by a wrestler after eleven years of folly and disorder.

Political
Progress.

Emperors
Constitu-
tionally
Chosen.

The
Succession.

466. The emperors of the second century received their position through election by the senate. Hence they were constitutional rulers. So far as election went, therefore, the dyarchy (§ 423) was practically restored. These emperors ruled also in harmony with the senate. It was an era of good feeling in the state. Some measures were even brought before the comitia of the people. But each emperor took care to indicate his successor. The method chosen was that of adoption and association in government. The senate never failed to elect the successor thus indicated.

Advance in
Organiza-
tion.

467. In the imperial organization two notable advances are seen. (1) The offices of Cæsar's household, formerly filled by freedmen (§ 443), were now held by members of the equestrian order. Thus Cæsar's administration was dignified and an honorable public career in the civil service was opened to equestrians. (2) The emperor gave to the counsellors, who had been called in from time to time to advise him, a more official and stable character. They constituted the Imperial Council, made up of officials and senators. Both of these changes were the work of Hadrian.

Imperial
Progress.

Enlarge-
ment.

468. The second century was a stirring period in the external history of the Empire. Two epochs of special importance are to be observed. (1) The reign of Trajan marks a significant extension of the Empire in north and east. After completing the rampart begun by the Flavian Emperors protecting the Agri Decumates (§ 447), Trajan





proceeded to deal with a formidable danger that had arisen on the Danube. Here just across the river the Dacians had established a kingdom under an able ruler, Decebalus. He had already been able to make terms with Domitian, and his strength menaced the security of the Roman frontier. Trajan determined to crush him. Two campaigns were necessary, each taking two years (A.D. 101-102; 105-106). The struggle was fierce and desperate. Only on the death of Decebalus in battle did Dacia submit and become a Roman province. The splendid victory is commemorated in the Column of Trajan raised at Rome to the height of a hundred feet and decorated with sculptured scenes of the war. In the east the question of the relation of Armenia to the Empire was reopened; Trajan determined to take issue with Parthia and settle it. He took the field in A.D. 115, overcame Armenia, advanced southward into Mesopotamia, and did not stop till he reached the Persian gulf. The Roman arms were supreme in the seats of the oldest civilization. Three new provinces were created, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria; the Parthian king received his crown from the hand of the Roman emperor. Already the province of Arabia had been created. Thus the entire Oriental world was under the authority of Rome. What would have been the verdict of time on these eastern conquests we cannot know, for hardly had Hadrian come to the throne when he voluntarily withdrew his troops, abandoned the provinces of Mesopotamia and Assyria and restored Armenia to its position as a dependent kingdom. It seems likely that Rome would not have been able to maintain them permanently against Parthia, however important they were to the protection of the older Roman provinces

Conquest
of Dacia.

The
Eastern
Question.

Hadrian's
Change of
Policy.

Appearance
of Bar-
barians.

Its Sig-
nificance.

Organiza-
tion.

Adminis-
trative
Activity.

Its Good
and Bad
Sides.

in the east. (2) The other epoch was a much less brilliant one. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius Teutonic peoples began pressing down to the Danube and seeking peaceably or by force to enter the Empire. Chief among these were the Marcomanni, and in the endeavor to drive them back, Marcus Aurelius was involved in a series of fierce conflicts. The invaders were finally overcome and driven across the Danube. The importance of the struggle lies in the fact that it was the pressure from behind that forced these barbarians into the Empire, the beginnings of those movements which in the coming centuries were to break it in pieces.

469. The changes in internal organization were all in the direction of more unity under the imperial administration. The emperor and his officials were everywhere active. Hadrian is the great example of this. His visits to the provinces, which covered a dozen years, were not for pleasure, but for the purpose of inspecting their resources and organization. As a result of them, a more careful and minute supervision of the details of administration was introduced. Imperial officials were appointed to look after the affairs of the municipalities which were thus taken up directly into the structure of the Empire. Hadrian built many fine buildings for these cities and brought their finances into order. The chief benefit of such measures was that they consolidated the powers of the state and its interests, bringing all under the guidance of a central authority, produced greater efficiency and stimulated the life of the members. On the whole, such imperial activity was a mistake, for it destroyed local independence and made the citizens look to the central government for help in everything. A wider

extension of the franchise was natural in these circumstances, but this was not followed by greater zeal for the state and a patriotic devotion to it. Citizenship was rather looked upon as a personal honor and prized because it gave special privileges. It soon became necessary to compel citizens to take office, and a highly prized reward granted by the emperors was exemption from the duty of official service in the municipalities. In this imperial administration Italy began to stand on the same basis as the provinces, and Rome itself was treated like any other municipality. The use of barbarians in the legions still further relieved the citizens from military service. Likewise the extension of imperial courts of justice throughout the Roman world and the supremacy of Roman imperial law which was characteristic of the time, while it was a bond of union, served as another means of making individuals and local communities dependent on the central government. Thus, we are standing at a critical moment in the history of the Roman world. On the one hand, the magnificent imperial organization was never more complete, and the life of the various communities absorbed into it was never more peaceful, prosperous and happy. On the other hand, beneath the surface, dry rot was working, local vigor and individual patriotism were decaying. Should the central power decline, there was grave danger that the dependent parts would lack the strength to rally to its aid or to maintain themselves against outside pressure.

**A Critical
Moment.**

470. Society breathed more freely under the emperors of the second century, and as a result new life sprang up on all sides. Trajan and Hadrian were mighty builders. The finest memorial of the former is his Column at Rome,

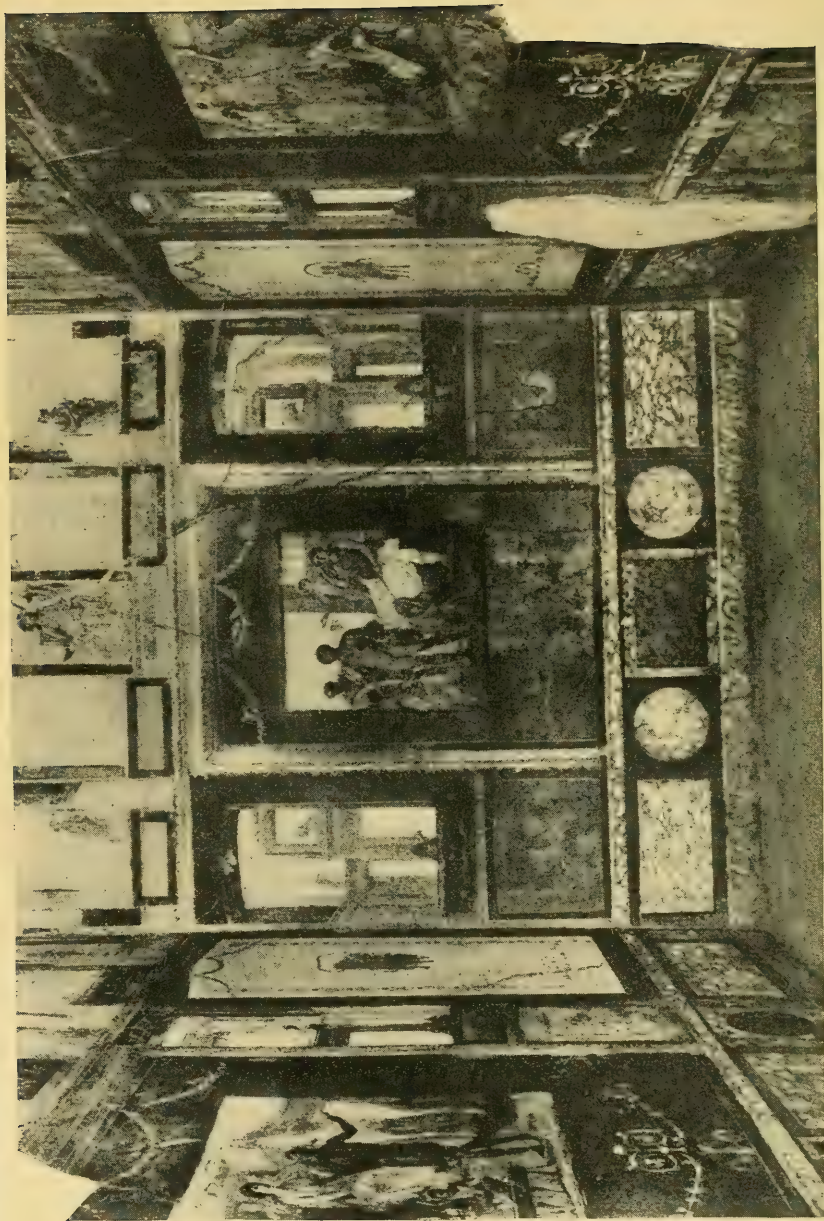
**Social Life.
Art and
Architecture.**

already referred to (§ 468). Hadrian's two chief buildings at Rome were the temple of Venus and Roma, the largest and most magnificent of all Roman temples, and a massive Mausoleum which he built on the other side of the Tiber, now known as the Castle of St. Angelo. Yet, most characteristic of the times was the stately villa of Hadrian at Tibur, conceived on a grand scale and filled with works of art; a theatre, libraries, temples, porches and gardens found place in it. From it have been taken statues, reliefs, mosaics and silver ornaments sufficient to stock several museums.

The
Literary
Revival.

Tacitus.

471. Literature flourished under the liberal patronage of the emperors and in the free atmosphere of the times. A striking sign of the unity in the world of letters under the Empire is the fact that as many works of lasting fame were written in Greek as in Latin. One of the greatest historians of antiquity, Cornelius Tacitus, belongs to this century. His chief works are the *Histories* and the *Annals*, which deal with the Empire under the Julian and Flavian Cæsars. Unfortunately, large parts of these works have been lost, but what remains is our chief source of knowledge for the times. Tacitus aspired to bring back to life and power just the ideas and institutions which the history of the Empire had shown to be fruitless and hopeless. He sought to exalt the senatorial nobility as over against the princes, Rome and Italy as over against the provinces. But so keen is his insight into characters and manners at Rome, and so brilliant his way of expressing his estimates of them, that his bitter and one-sided judgments have colored all subsequent views of the times. Two lesser works of his are the *Agricola*, an appreciation of his father-in-law, the general of Domitian, and the *Ger-*



A ROOM IN THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII, POMPEII

mania, a description of the Germans, in which their simplicity and purity of life are favorably compared with the depravity of imperial Rome. Side by side with Tacitus stands Juvenal, the satirist of the Empire. What the former condemned as an historian, the latter held up to scorn and ridicule in his powerful verse. Hypocritical philosophers, parasitical clients, rich fools, ostentatious luxury, fortune-hunting and the trials of poor men of letters are painted in strong and vivid colors. Juvenal.

472. Of Greek writers the most famous is Plutarch Plutarch. (A.D. 46-120), who wrote the *Parallel Lives*, forty-six in number, setting the biography of a Roman hero over against that of a Greek. He was a diligent collector of anecdotes and used them shrewdly to show the traits of his characters. The book has ever been a storehouse of information and at the same time a hand-book of morals—history teaching by the examples of the greatest men of the ancient world. Not so well known, but a brighter, Lucian. keener mind than Plutarch, was Lucian (about A.D. 125-180). His career was typical of the time; he was a travelling lecturer. His peculiar gift revealed itself in the writing of witty and satirical dialogues. The weaknesses and inconsistencies of the religion of his day are daringly ridiculed in his *Dialogues of the Gods*, while similar keen and amusing criticism is passed on various types of people of his day in the *Dialogues of the Dead*.

473. Two men may be chosen to represent the higher Representative Men of the Times. life of this century: Pliny the Younger and Marcus Aurelius, the emperor. Pliny the Younger. Pliny was a trusted official of Trajan and reveals himself and his times in a series of *Letters* to friends. In these he appears as a cultivated gentleman, such as might be met among us to-day. He

takes long walks in the woods and delights in the beauty of nature. He discusses the latest books. With a modesty that approaches vanity, he tells of his gifts to his native town in behalf of education. He entertains his guests by taking them around the grounds of his villa and inviting their admiration. He gives public readings from his works, and we feel him tremble as he gets on his legs before his cultured audience. A good-natured, indulgent master to his slaves, a devoted husband, an upright, earnest, if somewhat commonplace, character, he exhibits the Roman gentleman produced by the broad, serious and refined culture of the early second century.

Marcus
Aurelius,
Emperor
and Phil-
osopher.

474. On a higher plane we meet with the impressive and melancholy figure of the emperor-philosopher, Marcus Aurelius. From his youth he was a Stoic in word and deed. His *Meditations*, which he wrote down in Greek from time to time wherever he happened to be, in the camp or in the palace, reveal to us his thoughts. He aspired to be a perfect man and he thought it possible to attain his ideal by the old Stoic rule of following nature (§ 293). His philosophy was tempered by practical experience, and hence he insisted much on the duty of a true man to society. From his experience, perhaps, came also his sense of the need of divine help. He turned his thought into life; this separates him from the professional philosopher and makes him interesting, for he passed his life on the throne. A sober and high-minded personality, he did his duty in this high sphere and came near to practising what he preached.

Religion.

475. Yet this emperor persecuted the Christians! Such are the contradictions of history. The growing popular hatred of the Christians is remarkable. We have already

suggested a reason (§ 462). As Tertullian, a Christian writer, said: "If the Tiber rises, if the Nile does not rise, if the heavens give no rain, if there is an earthquake, famine, or pestilence, straightway the cry is, 'The Christians to the lions!'" The imperial authorities in some cases sought to stand against the mob and protect the Christians from unwarranted violence. Trajan wrote Pliny not to search out Christians for death, but only to deal with cases that were brought before him. Marcus Aurelius was more severe, and under his command Christians were hunted down and put to death. He regarded their refusal to join in the religion of the Empire as "mere obstinacy" and thought it a part of his duty to punish those who professed what Pliny called "a degrading and unreasonable superstition." The Christians, in their turn, went willingly in great numbers to death, which they called "martyrdom," that is, "witnessing" to their faith. Yet they grew in numbers and in unity, impelled both by persecution from without and by the false doctrines that some within the fold were teaching. Among them appeared literary defenders, some of whom addressed to the emperors what are called *Apologies*, or arguments in defence of Christianity as a reasonable and worthy religion; others wrote books maintaining the true or "orthodox" doctrine against the false doctrine or "heresy." Thus out of the various churches all over the Empire was slowly forming the Church, the one body of believers in Christ, standing over against the Empire and the heretics. It was soon to make its power felt in both directions.

Persecution
of Chris-
tians.

Their
Progress.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire. 3. Rome's Eastern Empire.

4. ROME'S WORLD-EMPIRE.

(1) The world-empire under the Principate [Julian line, Flavian line, life in the first century]—Emperors of the second century, names, personality and history—political progress (relation to senate, organization of court)—foreign relations (expansion and contraction, barbarian invasions)—imperial unification—too much government?—new social life (art, architecture, literature, great names)—persecution and progress of Christianity.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. What is meant by mausoleum, heretic, Imperial Council, martyrdom, dyarchy, apology? 2. Name the emperors of this century in chronological order. 3. For what are the following famous: Hercules, Pliny the Younger, Decebalus, Tacitus, Plutarch?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. In what were Marcus Aurelius and Solomon alike? 2. Compare the Empire of Augustus in extent with the Empire of Trajan. 3. Compare Pliny the Younger with Cicero in ideals, activities and character. 4. Why is Juvenal more a type of this period than of Athens in the fifth century? 5. What reasons may be given for the famous saying of Gibbon quoted below? *

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Empire in the Second Century. Wolfson, pp. 422-429; Seignobos, ch. 22; Botsford, pp. 243-256; Morey, ch. 26; Merivale, pp. 513-542; Gibbon, ch. 1. 2. The Inner Politics of the Empire. Abbott, ch. 15. 3. The Dacian Wars of Trajan. Bury, pp. 421-430. 4. Personality and Work of Hadrian. Merivale, pp. 524-529; Bury, ch. 26. 5. Marcus Aurelius. Merivale, pp. 538-539; Bury, ch. 28; Munro, pp. 176-178 (source). 6. The Literature of the Second Century. Botsford,

* "If a man were called upon to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus."

pp. 256-262; Bury, pp. 475-487. 7. Pliny and the Christians. Laing, pp. 468-471 (source); Munro, pp. 165-167 (source); Wolison, p. 451; Bury, pp. 445-448. 8. Tacitus the Historian. Mackail, pp. 205-220; Laing, pp. 399-424. 9. "As an emperor I am a Roman, but as a man my city is the world." How does this saying reveal the spirit of the time?

476. The cloud of dangers which hung on the horizon of the second century rose rapidly and broke in fierce storms upon the third. In the east the troubles in the Parthian kingdom, which had aided in the victorious advance of the Romans to the Persian gulf (§ 468), were over. A new dynasty, called the Sassanian, professing to be descended from the old Persians, united the warring factions, founded a strong state and began at once to advance westward against the Roman frontier. In the west the situation was yet more critical. The pressure from the north that had driven the Marcomanni across the Danube became well-nigh irresistible. New barbarian tribes appeared. Alamanni and Franks crossed the Rhine and overspread Gaul and Spain. Goths swept over the Danube and raided the northeastern provinces, while their ships issued from the Black Sea to ravage the coasts of Asia Minor. At one time it seemed that under these assaults the Empire would be broken in pieces.

The Third
Century.

Critical
State of the
Empire.

477. The legions defending the frontiers had to meet these attacks. Able and active commanders were necessary. It was natural, therefore, that they should make themselves felt in the government. There was no place for the senate to assert itself. The emperors of this period were made and unmade by the armies. The state was fighting for its life, its different sections defending themselves as

The Army
Makes the
Emperors.

far as possible from their particular enemies. Claimants for the throne sprang up wherever a successful general had imperial ambitions, and thus civil war at times added to the distress. The average length of the reigns of the emperors of the third century was not more than four years. Yet it speaks much for the firm structure of the Empire that the ship of state went plunging on through the tempest, though sorely battered, that competent captains appeared to pilot it safely in trying situations, and that at last it weathered the storm. We select for our study those emperors who contributed to this outcome.

478. The prætorians, after the death of Commodus, held the succession to the Empire in their hands. Having finally sold it to the highest bidder, they were met by the opposition of the three frontier armies on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, who proclaimed their own commanders as emperors. In the civil war that followed, **SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS**, of an African family, general of the army on the Danube, secured the throne and ruled with vigor as the first military emperor (A.D. 193-211). He reorganized the prætorians by substituting his own soldiers for the Italians and increasing their number to 50,000. He extended the Empire by recovering Mesopotamia, abandoned by Hadrian (§ 468). He ruled as a practically absolute monarch, disregarding the prerogatives of the senate. By taking the name of Antoninus he sought to attach himself to the previous dynasty, while he appointed his sons as his successors. The centralization and extension of the power of the Princeps were his manifest aims, the vigor and prosperity of his administration were evidences of his success. Yet the military basis of his throne was unsound and dangerous. His son **CARA-**

**Septimius
Severus.**

Caracalla.

CALLA (A.D. 211-217) was a cruel and wasteful ruler who was murdered by the prefect of the guard. Two achievements have made him famous: (1) the building of the "Baths of Caracalla" at Rome, a colossal and elegant series of public baths; (2) his edict bestowing citizenship upon all the freemen of the Empire (A.D. 212). This last act in the unification of the state was intended by him to bring a large number of people within the circle of imperial taxation and service. **SEVERUS ALEXANDER** (A.D. 222-235), a distant relative of the house of Septimius, was no soldier. Indeed, his reign marks a reaction toward constitutional rule. Though young, he had an earnest and serious spirit and sought to conform his life to the highest models. An Oriental by birth and sentiment, he was deeply religious. In a sanctuary in his palace he placed statues of Abraham, Orpheus, Apollo and Jesus. But such a temper did not attract the legions. His campaigns were unsuccessful and he was slain by a mob of his own soldiers.

**Severus
Alexander.**

479. Under the emperors of the house of Septimius Severus the importance of the jurists is notable. The prefect of the prætorians had come to have charge of the administration of justice under the emperor. He was, therefore, chiefly a great lawyer and only secondarily a military man. Under these emperors he became the chief minister and adviser of the crown. The glory of their reigns were the prefects Papinian and Ulpian. To them the emperor was the source of justice and law, the supreme authority. Thus they gave a new theory of the Roman constitution. They gathered the imperial judgments ("rescripts") and orders ("edicts"), brought them into harmony according to the highest ideals of

**The Im-
portance
of Jurists
in the
State.**

412 *World-Empire under the Principate*

the time, and prepared the way for a code of imperial law.

Other
Emperors
of the
Century.

480. The emperors that followed Alexander from A.D. 235-270 battled valiantly against enemies in east and west. One, DECIUS, was slain in battle against the Goths; another, VALERIAN, was made prisoner by the Sassanian king. AURELIAN (A.D. 270-275) had better success. He restored the unity of the Empire by overthrowing Queen Zenobia, who had set up an independent kingdom in the east with its capital at Palmyra, and Tetricus, the head of a similar kingdom in Gaul. The barbarians were beaten back, Rome was fortified and a splendid "triumph" was held in the city. He was compelled, however, to abandon Dacia to the invaders. PROBUS (A.D. 276-282) was equally successful against the barbarians. He thrust them back from the northern frontiers and restored the wall connecting the Rhine and Danube. He transplanted numbers of these tribes into the Empire as settlers and added many to his armies. This desperate measure was necessary to strengthen the waning vigor of the Roman military and civic body. Both he and Aurelian, however, were at last slain by their own soldiers while in the field. During these years of conflict with enemies without, the inner vigor of the Empire was weakened. The population was declining in numbers and wealth. The state was slowly crumbling and, unless some new force was gained or more efficient organization devised, its days were numbered.

Social
Life.

481. In the storms of the third century the social and economic life of the state suffered severely. The old Roman population was reduced by pestilence and war. Public spirit was weak. The real splendor of the Roman

name was in the outlying provinces; they gloried in defending the Empire against the barbarians. Financial distress was everywhere present. Trade and commerce, industry and manufacturing, were broken down by inroads of enemies. The army swallowed up the receipts of taxation, which grew steadily heavier. As the local officials were made responsible for the collection of taxes, men of official rank everywhere sought to keep out of the offices. The plan of settling Germanic tribes in the Empire was adopted on a large scale. The immediate results were good. The army was strengthened. In this century the word for soldier is "barbarian." When settled on farms, these foreigners were called *coloni* and were bound to remain on their land. When the land was sold, they passed over to the new proprietor as belonging to it. Such persons are not slaves, but serfs; they have certain rights in the land to which they belong. As the result of these measures agriculture began to revive in various regions of the Empire. Architecture and other arts suffered in the general decline. Fine buildings were still put up, but refinement of taste was wanting. Massiveness and profuse decoration were the rule. Such were the Baths of Caracalla and the splendid temples and palaces of Palmyra. Portrait statues and reliefs, such as those on the arch of Septimius Severus, suffered from the same excess of ornamental detail. It is the old story of decline in vigor made up for by imitation of the past.

Finance.

Settlement
of Bar-
barians.Architect-
ure.

482. Religion had a large place in the life of the third century. The troubles and woes of the time led men everywhere to look to the heavenly powers for mercy and help. All sorts of religions found favor. Magic and astrology were very popular with all classes. In Alexandria a new

Religion.

school of philosophy sprang up called "New Platonism," because it revived the ideas of Plato (§ 239) and sought to find comfort and a rule of life in them. The soldiers had their religion and, as they were the leading force of the time, it spread widely. This was the worship of Mithra, a Persian deity, represented as a young hero, slaying a bull and bearing it on his shoulders. He had his priests and his temples; he promised victory over sin and immortal happiness to his followers. The worship of the sun as the source of all life, the unconquerable lord, was a popular cult. The emperors of the time were very favorable to these various religions, they saw in them a source of strength for the hard-pressed Roman world.

Christian-
ity.

483. Only against one faith were all alike opposed. Christianity had to battle with them for her life and no one could foresee the result. Yet she grew through all the century, undismayed by persecution. The effect of her independent position, opposed as she was by the state and attacked by the people, began to appear. Her organization became more centralized. Among the elders or bishops of the churches, here and there, a leader appeared who stood at the head of the Christians of the city and became *the* Bishop; the elders or presbyters became "priests"* under the bishop's authority; churches of a district united for the settlement of questions common to them by sending their priests to a synod, presided over by a bishop. Thus a distinction between the clergy and the lay members began to arise. Bishops in such centres as Antioch, Alexandria or Rome, where the Christians were many, were called Archbishops or Metropolitans. The church at Rome came to have a special position. It was

Growth of
Organiza-
tion.

The
Hierarchy.

* The word "priest" is a contracted form of the word "presbyter."



Scene in the Dacian War
A RELIEF FROM THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

thought that Peter, the leader of Jesus's disciples, was its founder and thus gave it leadership over the other churches. Its Bishop was thus led to make peculiar claims to headship in the Church. In all this advance of the Church we see it begin to shape itself on the model of the imperial organization and to stand up over against it. Leaders of thought began to come forward. In Alexandria, a school of Christian teaching was formed, the most brilliant ornament of which was Origen. In North Africa, Christianity was particularly strong. Here the great names were Tertullian and Cyprian, who by their writings defended the Church against enemies within and without. A Christian art began to appear. Upon gravestones and chapels the dove, the good shepherd and the lamb, favorite symbols of the new faith, were rudely carved or painted.

The
Roman
Church.

Christia
Writers.

Art.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire. 3. Rome's Eastern Empire.
4. ROME'S WORLD-EMPIRE.

(1) The world-empire under the Principate [Julian and Flavian lines, constitutional emperors]—Empire in the third century—troubles without—military defence—emperors made by legions—the most important—their personality and history—rise of legal science and imperial law—decline of the state—barbarians settled in the empire—revival of religion (new Platonism, Mithra, Christianity, a close organization, literature and art).

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. Name the chief Emperors of the century. 2. For what are the following significant: Zenobia, Ulpian, Origen? 3. What is meant by coloni, priest, New Platonism, Edict, Sassanian? 4. What is the date of the Edict of Caracalla?

416 *World-Empire under the Despotism*

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare Greek religion in the sixth century B.C. (§ 124) with the religion of this age—what similar conditions and results? 2. How do the barbarian invasions resemble those that afflicted the Oriental world (§§ 14, 38, 40, 54, 78, 81)?

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Empire in the Third Century. Gibbon, pp. 21-83; Morey, ch. 27; Merivale, pp. 542-569; Seignobos, pp. 373-390; West, pp. 428-431; Wolfson, pp. 457-458. 2. The Emperor and His Administration. Abbott, pp. 329-334; Botsford, pp. 276-278. 3. The Jurists of the Empire. Seignobos, pp. 383-384; West, p. 42c; Botsford, pp. 269-270. 4. Severus Alexander. Gibbon, pp. 37, 38; Merivale, pp. 555, 556. 5. The Sassanian Kings. Gibbon, pp. 39-42; Botsford, pp. 271-272. 6. Zenobia and Palmyra. Gibbon, pp. 70-73.

(2) THE WORLD-EMPIRE UNDER THE DESPOTISM

A.D. 284-395

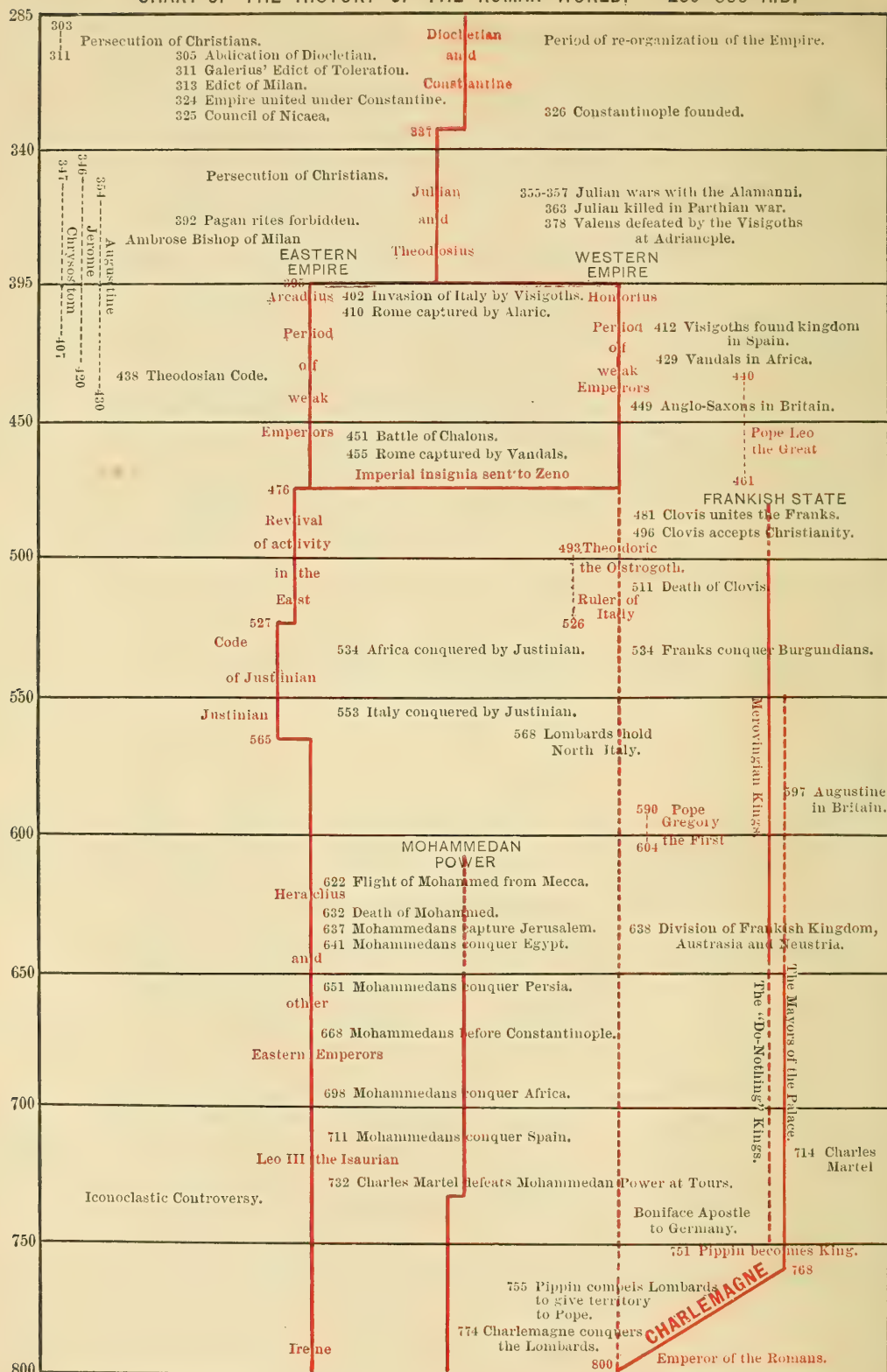
The
Empire Re-
organized.

Diocletian.

The Plan
of Reor-
ganization.

484. The new organization of the state which was demanded by the times was started by an emperor at the close of the century. Among the able lieutenants that the valiant emperors Aurelian and Probus gathered about them and trained in the fierce battles with Goths and Persians were Diocletian and Maximian. The legions chose DIOCLETIAN as emperor (A.D. 284-305) to defend and restore the decaying Empire. He responded by a new plan of imperial organization to meet the difficulties of the times. (1) To solve the problem of the succession he associated with himself as colleague MAXIMIAN, giving him the title of Augustus, and took as assistants GALERIUS and CONSTANTIUS, giving them the title of Cæsar. Hence,

CHART OF THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN WORLD, 285-800 A.D.



there was always one at hand to succeed to the throne. (2) To meet the necessity of defending so great an Empire from its enemies, he assigned Maximian to Italy and the western provinces with Constantius under him in charge of Gaul, Spain and Britain, and himself took the east with Galerius under him in charge of Illyria. His capital was at Nicomedia in Asia Minor; that of Maximian at Milan in Italy. (3) For a better administration of the state, he split up the provinces, making about one hundred in all. These were united into twelve "dioceses." (4) To guard against misuse of power, he separated the military from the civil authority. Governors of provinces were civil officers. Generals (counts and dukes) had charge of the soldiery. (5) A very complex organization of the officials of the state was introduced; all were closely bound together, each dependent on the one above him in rank, until the culmination was reached in the emperor. Each rank of officials had its appropriate title. The supreme emperor was far above all other mortals and surrounded himself with Oriental pomp and form; he wore a diadem and was called *Dominus*, "lord"; the subject was *servus*, "slave."

485. Thus by these measures the principate perished and an absolute monarchy took its place. The republic with its constitution and magistrates, princeps, senate, assemblies, citizens, was abolished.* The pre-eminence of Rome and Italy vanished. All that had been built up by Augustus with such marvellous skill, and, for three centuries, had, in form at least, been the basis of Roman government,

A Des-
potism

* The consulate remained as an honorary magistracy, giving its name to the year. Other institutions continued, but without political significance.

passed away. That it should perish was proper, for it had done its work and was unequal to the new demands. But the meaning of the change now introduced must not be overlooked. The World-Empire of Rome was essentially transformed. The experiment in government, which sought to combine republican institutions with effective administration of an empire, was over.

The Per-
sonality of
Diocletian.

486. His plan of reorganization proves Diocletian to have been a wise and practical statesman, as well as a skilful soldier. He was of humble origin, the son of a freedman of Dalmatia, and had worked his way up from the ranks. Tall and spare of body, he had a clear mind, reflected in a face with finely cut features, and an attractive personality which made firm friends. With a strong will that pursued its way resistlessly, and used all men to further its designs, he had one weakness common to his age—a vein of religious superstition which caused him to set much store by omens and signs, and to pay passionate heed to the utterances of magicians and astrologers.

Good Re-
sults of
the New
Plan.

487. Under his skilful ministration the exhausted Empire was revived and leaped to its feet. The coinage was improved and finances restored. New taxes were imposed, but their burden was wisely distributed among the various classes of society. Military reforms, particularly the creation of a field-army in addition to the legions on the frontiers, available wherever the need was greatest, brought the disturbed frontiers into order. Laws were issued bearing on all sides of life; it was even attempted to regulate prices by legislation. Imperial cities were adorned with new and splendid buildings, and old foundations were renewed. Inscriptions of the time hail the period as the “happy era” of general betterment.

488. His religious weakness brought upon him a serious conflict. In his zeal for the revival of the ancient Roman worship, he sought to suppress the Christians. Although they were in his court and his legions and formed the most influential and progressive element in the state, his unrelenting, almost fanatical, spirit did not flinch from the struggle. He did not use bloody means; his plan was rather by destroying churches, silencing leaders and seizing property to bring Christianity gradually into contempt and weakness. He failed. His edict against the Faith was only partially respected in the west, and down to the end of his reign the struggle went on. During his own lifetime — after his abdication (§ 489) — his successor, Galerius, issued his Edict of Toleration (A.D. 311), which gave the Christians freedom to worship in public and private on condition of paying due respect to the laws.

Persecu-
tion of
Christians.

Its Failure.

489. A more remarkable weakness in his system revealed itself. Worn out with his incessant labors, Diocletian determined to retire from his imperial position. In A.D. 305, after twenty years of rule, he abdicated and retired to Dalmatia to spend in private the remainder of his life. He persuaded his colleague, Maximian, to follow his example. The Cæsars stepped into their places and new Cæsars were appointed. Soon, however, difficulties sprang up between the rulers. The son of Constantius, **CONSTANTINE**, was proclaimed emperor by his legions in the west. The Roman world saw the emperors involved in conflict with each other for the supremacy. The outcome was the victory of Constantine, who in A.D. 324 became sole emperor (A.D. 324–337).

Difficulties
of the
Succession

Constantine.

490. Constantine was thirty-two years of age, a man of heroic stature, handsome and strong. Tradition tells

His Per-
sonality.

of his piercing eye and commanding dignity. A brave warrior, he won many of his battles by his own personal courage and strength in single combat. Shrewd and self-contained, never thrown off his guard, quick to seize an opportunity, with a religious sense akin to Diocletian's and a love of praise and pomp which he gratified by the Oriental splendor of his dress and court, he carried out the spirit of Diocletian's policy to the end. From the men of his own time and from succeeding ages he has won the title of "the Great." Of all his achievements two have given him this special claim to remembrance: (1) his transference of the imperial capital from Rome to a new city on the Bosphorus, named from him Constantinople: (2) his reconciliation of the Empire with Christianity.

His Two
Contribu-
tions to
Progress.

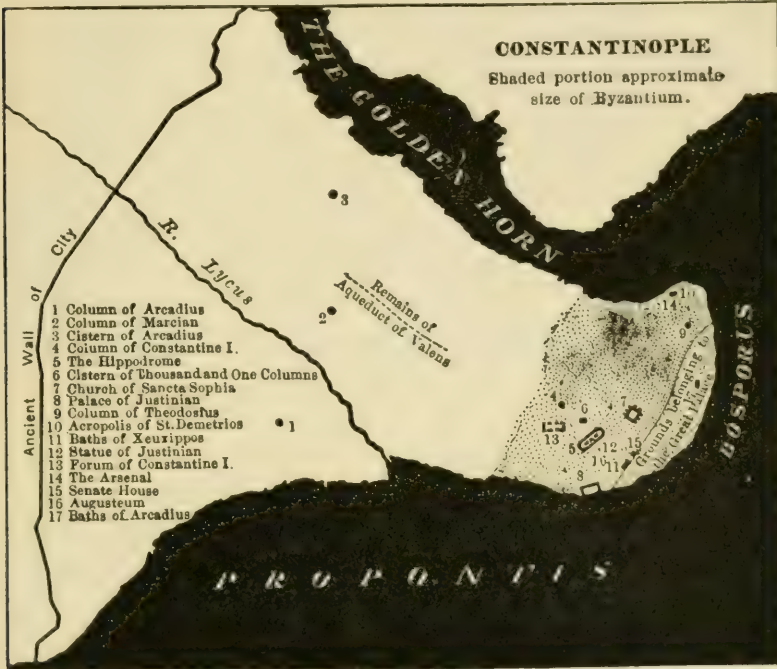
The New
Capital.

491. Constantinople was placed on the site of the Greek city of Byzantium. It was most wisely placed for the capital of an Empire that extended from the Euphrates to Britain. From it the emperor could survey his domain on either side and most easily control its several parts. Commerce found it a most convenient centre and its harbors were unsurpassed. It lay near, yet not too near, to the Danube, the frontier whence danger from the barbarians was most pressing. It was easy of defence by land and sea, lying on seven hills and protected on three sides by water. The emperor proposed to call it New Rome, and, although the name commemorating its founder has been preferred by after ages, the result contemplated by him took place—the supremacy of old Rome passed to its new rival. Here the court was set up, here magnificent palaces were built, from here the imperial administration ruled the Roman world. Rome sank to the level of a provincial city, mighty in its past alone, until it rose

again to be the capital of a spiritual state, the seat of the Roman Church.

492. Already, before he became sole emperor, Constantine had seen how great a power Christianity had become, and by his friendly attitude won the Christians to his side

Recognition of Christianity.



His father, though never breaking with the old religion, had inclined to the worship of one god, and the son followed his example. In A.D. 313 he published the Edict of Milan, by which larger tolerance was granted to Christianity than Galerius had given (§ 488). As time went on and he became the lord of the Roman world, his favor was shown more clearly by his edicts and by his personal kindness to Christian bishops. He read the Scriptures. He presided at a famous council of Christian bishops at Nicæa (A.D. 325), where an important theological ques-

Constantine
as a Chris-
tian.

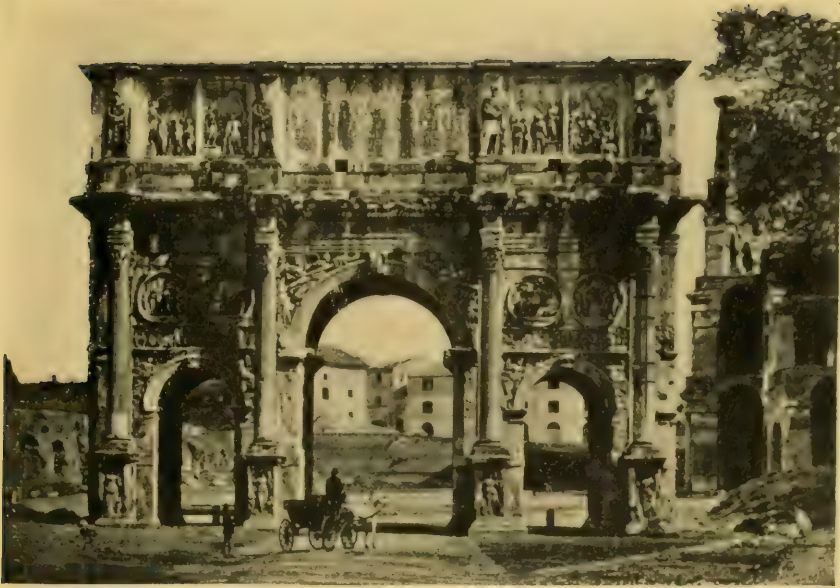
tion was decided—whether Jesus Christ was the same as God or only like him.* In the hour of death he was baptized into the Church, and thus personally confessed Christianity. But, as emperor, he refused to take sides; if he granted favors to Christians, he also consecrated temples and gave privileges to priests of the old Roman cult. Nor was his conduct ever deeply influenced by Christian teaching. He sought to reconcile all worshippers of every god and use them for the upbuilding of the Empire. Yet his personal attitude toward Christianity was more potent than his official neutrality. From his reign dates the beginning of the victory of Christianity over the ancient faiths of the Roman world and the union between the Church and the Empire.

Eusebius, the Church historian and friend of Constantine, tells us, in his life of the emperor, that Constantine, before he became sole emperor, while marching against one of his rivals, uncertain as to his duty to God, beheld a wonderful vision. As the day was declining, he saw the representation of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, *Conquer by this!* At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on the expedition and witnessed the miracle. While pondering on the vision, he fell into a sleep in which Christ appeared to him with the same sign and bade him make a likeness of it as a standard for his army. He obeyed, and produced what was called the Labarum, a banner hung from a cross-bar on a spear, at the top of which was a wreath containing in its centre a monogram for the name of Christ. From this time forth Constantine was at heart a Christian.

Successors
of Con-
stantine.

493. On the death of Constantine, his three sons followed him as emperors in the east and west (A.D. 337-353)

* Those who held the latter view were led by the Bishop Arius and were hence called Arians. The question was decided against them in the Nicene Council.



The Arch of Constantine at Rome



A Roman Aqueduct in Gaul

CHARACTERISTIC ROMAN ARCHITECTURE

until one of them, CONSTANTIUS, became sole emperor (A.D. 353-360). After him came another member of the house of Constantine, JULIAN (A.D. 361-363). His death on the eastern frontier was followed by the elevation of several generals of the armies, until a vigorous and successful warrior, THEODOSIUS (A.D. 379-395), at first emperor in the east, succeeded in uniting the Empire again. The renewal of barbarian invasions after his death on a scale hitherto unparalleled, and the establishment of their independent states in the Empire, has made the year of his death, A.D. 395, a significant turning point in history.

494. While the inroads on the Danube and the Rhine continued, and the Persians in the east were constantly threatening the Roman provinces, the uppermost question in the history of this half-century was the relation of the Empire to Christianity. The Church, superbly organized under its bishops, and having its greatest strength in the cities,* offered itself as a useful ally to the imperial power. A fierce conflict about the doctrine which had been in dispute at the council of Nicæa (§ 492) was rending the Church in twain. Arianism sought to reassert itself against its opposing view, which being accepted in that council was called Orthodoxy or the "right doctrine." The sons of Constantine had been reared as Christians, but Constantius accepted the Arian view. Hence, the Arians sought to obtain his help to gain their victory. Although, as emperor, he sought to remain, like his father, neutral in religious matters, he could not help being drawn

Christian-
ity and the
Empire.

The War of
Doctrines
in the
Church.

* A remarkable illustration of this are our words "Pagan," which means "dweller in a village," and "Heathen," "dweller on the heath" or "country." Christianity made its way very slowly among the country people. Hence "Paganism" and "Heathenism" are used to signify the non-Christian religions of the ancient world.

into the struggle. The Empire took the side of Arianism. Over against him as representing orthodoxy was Athanasius, the brilliant and unscrupulous bishop of Alexandria. The result of the conflict was the triumph of Arianism by the aid of imperial authority. The moment was full of meaning, not because of the triumph of this or that doctrine, but because it brought the union of the Empire and the Church a long step nearer. Julian, who sought to revive paganism and repress Christianity, was an interesting character, but his attempt was futile. In Christian annals he is branded as "the apostate." The emperors who followed favored the Church more and more. One of them, GRATIAN, withdrew all imperial support from the public worship of the heathen gods. In A.D. 392 Theodosius issued an edict, forbidding all practice of the old religion. This date marks the formal downfall of paganism and the victory of Christianity in the Roman world. At the same time, this emperor exalted the orthodox doctrine; he forbade and punished Arianism and all other false teachings of the true faith. He practically made Christianity the religion of the Empire. Henceforth bishops and emperors joined hands for the rule of the Roman world.

Its Effect.

Victory of Christianity over Paganism.

Union of Empire and Church.

The Victory of Church over Empire.

495. Let us stop a moment to consider what this meant. In the ancient world, the part of religion was to serve the state. It was one of the elements of public life which made up the state. The ruler was the head of the religious system. But Christianity had grown up outside public life; it obeyed no earthly ruler; Jesus Christ, the son of God, was its supreme master. Hence, in uniting with the state, it came in as an equal, nay, rather, as representing a Lord to whom the emperor, too, must bow.

Therefore, the union of Christianity and the Empire brought with it the victory of the Church over the Empire. Before the authority of its Christ there could be no equal power. Hence, this moment in history reveals to us that we are approaching the border of a new age. The Ancient World is passing away.

The position occupied by the Church is illustrated by the famous "penance" of Theodosius. He had been stirred by a rebellious act of a mob in the city of Thessalonica to order the massacre of the inhabitants. At least 7,000 people perished. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, was horrified by this crime. When Theodosius approached the church to worship, he was met by the bishop, who forbade him entrance and laid before him the conditions on which God's pardon could be obtained. Taking off his royal robes, he must appear in the church as a penitent and beg for mercy from God. The emperor submitted, and, after eight months of probation, Ambrose absolved him from guilt and restored him to the communion of the Church.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire. 3. Rome's Eastern Empire.

4. ROME'S WORLD-EMPIRE.

(1) [The world-empire under the Principate]—(2) The world-empire under the Despotism—the empire reorganized by Diocletian—despotism substituted for principate—character and work of Diocletian—Constantine sole emperor—character—his two achievements—his successors—Theodosius—Christianity and the Arian heresy—the Empire's part in the struggle—what it meant.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. What is the meaning of bishop, diocese, orthodoxy, pagan, New Rome, labarum? 2. For what are the following famous: Ambrose, Gratian, Athanasius, Julian, Mithra? 3. What is the date of the Edict of Toleration, of the Council of Nicæa?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. What circumstances and conditions existed at this time to justify and make possible the Despotism which did not exist in the time of Augustus? 2. Compare the position of Christianity in the state under Constantine to that of religion in the ancient Oriental states (§§ 34, 91).

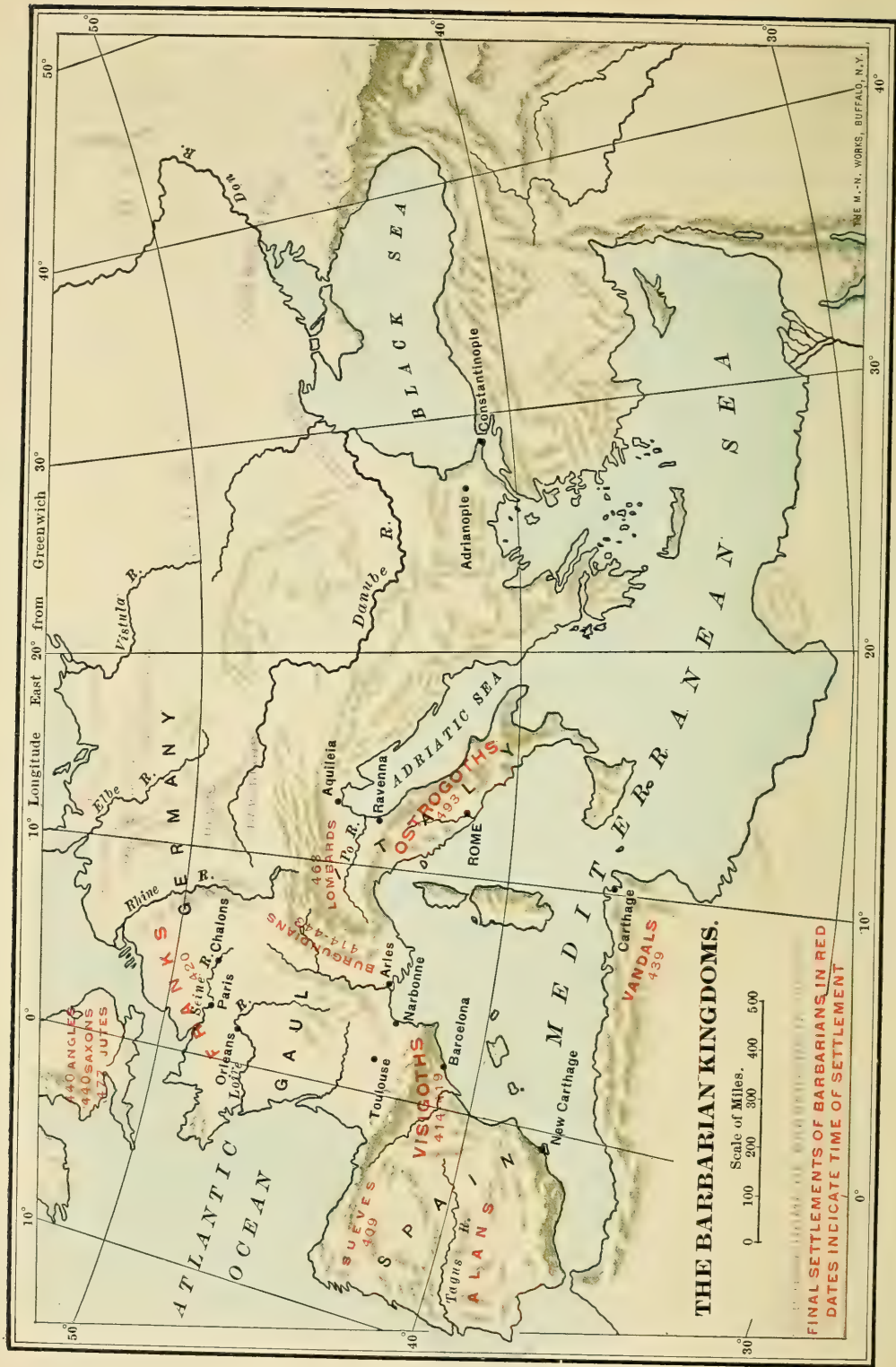
TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. The Reorganization of the Empire. Morey, ch. 28; Botsford, pp. 278-280, 285-288; West, pp. 434-439; Merivale, ch. 70; Gibbon, pp. 91-95, 132-143; Seignobos, pp. 390-392, 406-409. 2. Constantine and Christianity. Munro, p. 175 (source); West, pp. 438-445; Botsford, pp. 282-283; Merivale, ch. 71; Gibbon, pp. 120-240. 3. The Edicts of the Emperors in Relation to Christianity. Munro, pp. 174-176 (sources); Gibbon, pp. 118-119. 4. The Council of Nicæa. Seignobos, pp. 400-401. 5. Julian and Pagan Learning. Merivale, ch. 73; Seignobos, pp. 412-413; Gibbon, ch. 12. 6. Theodosius. Merivale, pp. 616-623; Seignobos, pp. 416-420; Gibbon, pp. 207-221. 7. Constantinople and Rome. Munro, pp. 236-237 (source); Gibbon, pp. 123-132; Botsford, pp. 283-285; Merivale, pp. 587-590; Seignobos, pp. 403-404. 8. Society in the Fourth Century. West, pp. 449-457.

(3) THE BREAKING UP OF THE WORLD-EMPIRE AND THE END OF THE ANCIENT PERIOD

A.D. 395-800

The Last
Four Cen-
turies of
Rome.

496. The four centuries, A.D. 400-800, form the last great Era of Transition in the history of the Ancient World. Everything was in confusion; everywhere ancient races were yielding to fresh and vigorous peoples, old and established forms of organization were breaking down and new institutions were forming to correspond to the new life. The struggle was long, the changes slow in taking



place, but the end was the transformation of the old world into the Middle Age.

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CHURCH. *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*. Scribners. Not a new book, but by an admirable scholar and of permanent value for the period A.D. 400-800.

497. The death of Theodosius placed the administration of the Empire in the hands of his two sons. ARCADIOUS received the eastern portion, HONORIUS the west. Both were young and incapable. The barbarians, some of them already over the border and restrained in their seats only by the strong hand of Theodosius, soon broke loose; some fell upon the provinces, others threatened the very heart of the Empire. Goths, divided into East (Ostro) Goths and West (Visi) Goths, came down from the north and northeast; Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, Alamanni, and Franks burst into the western provinces. The very year of the death of Theodosius (A.D. 395), the Visigoths, who had been already admitted into the Danubian provinces, rose under Alaric, their chieftain, and marched into Italy. Stilicho, the general of Honorius, successfully resisted them, until, out of jealousy and fear, he was murdered by his royal master. Then Alaric was able to overrun Italy and even to capture Rome (A.D. 410). The Suevi had penetrated into Spain, where they were

The Bar-
barian
Deluge.

Visigoths.

* For previous bibliographies see pp. 4, 10, 75, 249, 359.

Vandals. followed by the Vandals. Upon the death of Alaric, the Visigoths left Italy and moved westward into Spain, where they set up a kingdom (A.D. 412) which was to last for three hundred years. The Vandals retired before them into Africa (A.D. 429), where they also established a kingdom under their leader Gaiseric. As if this were not enough, the cause of this tremendous upheaval of the German tribes now appeared on the scene in the advance

Huns. of the Huns, a people of alien race and strange manners, wild savage warriors, rushing down out of the far northeast from their homes in Central Asia. Under their king, Attila, they were united and organized into a formidable host, which included also Germans and Slavs. Attila had no less a purpose than to overthrow the Roman Empire and set up a new Hunnish state upon its ruins. "Though a barbarian, Attila was by no means a savage. He practised the arts of diplomacy, often sent and received embassies and respected the international laws and customs which then existed." After ravaging the east as far as the Euphrates, he turned to the west, crossed the Rhine and invaded Gaul. There he was met by an imperial army under Aetius and was defeated and turned back in a fierce struggle at the "Catalaunian Fields" (Châlons) in A.D. 451, which is justly regarded as one of the decisive battles of history. Two years after he died, and with his death the Hunnish peril was over.

Battle of Châlons.

**Weaklings
on the
Throne.**

498. The emperors during this period were weak men and ineffective rulers, often set up and always upheld by their armies, which were made up almost entirely of Germans and led by men of the same race. Stilicho was a Vandal. Ricimer, another imperial general, was a Suevian. The emperors of the west emphasized still more

their impotence by placing the seat of government at Ravenna, an almost inaccessible fortress on the Adriatic sea. The rest of Italy might suffer from the marches and contests of rival armies, while they were secure. Thus they beheld, in A.D. 455, the capture and sack of Rome by Gaiseric, the Vandal king of Africa, repeated in A.D. 472 by Ricimer. Following Honorius, a succession of nine weaklings kept up a pretence of imperial rule, until ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS, a mere boy, was set upon the throne. His German mercenaries, irritated by a refusal to grant them lands on which to settle, took as their leader Odovacar, the Rugian, captured the emperor and forced him to resign his office (A.D. 476). Then the imperial insignia were sent to the emperor of the east, ZENO, who thus became sole emperor and appointed Odovacar governor of Italy. In fact the latter ruled Italy as a king, while, as we have seen (§ 497), other parts of the west did not even formally acknowledge the emperor's authority. For this reason the year A.D. 476 is often regarded as a turning point in the history of Rome as marking the fall of the Western Empire.

Fall of
Western
Empire.

499. But peace was still far off. The Ostrogoths, who lived an unsettled and warring life in the Danubian provinces of the eastern emperor, set out, under their leader, Theodoric, to contest with Odovacar the possession of Italy. The struggle ended with Theodoric as victor and king of Italy. He ruled it for more than thirty years (A.D. 493-526), wisely and prosperously. "He restored the aqueducts and walls of many cities, repaired the roads, drained marshes, reopened mines, cared for public buildings, promoted agriculture, established markets, preserved the peace, administered justice strictly and enforced the laws.

Ostrogoths
in Italy.

By intermarriages and treaties he tried to maintain peace between all the neighboring German kingdoms, that they might not mutually destroy each other."* Nominally a subject of the emperor, he was in reality sole lord of Italy.

Influence of
Rome on
Invaders.

500. It must not be thought that these waves of barbarian invasion completely shattered the structure of Roman politics and society. Such attacks on the borders had been going on for centuries. Multitudes of Germans had already been settled in the provinces. The armies were almost entirely made up of them. They were found in numbers in the offices of the imperial administration and in close touch with the court of the emperor. Not only had the splendor and the strength of the Empire, its civilization and its wealth, attracted them, but they had been deeply influenced by it. Many of them had been converted to Christianity. We can, therefore, understand the famous saying of one Gothic chieftain, that once, in his youth, he had the ambition to overthrow the Roman power, but now his highest ambition was to sustain the law and order of Rome by the swords of the Goths. Accordingly, the moment these invaders reached their goal, they fell into the ways of Rome. They came not to destroy, but to enter into the Roman heritage. They were proud to be made the bulwark and support of its civilization and even of its throne. Thus, it was not long before the superior culture, the organizing and civilizing power of old Rome, worked them over and they settled down to maintain the most substantial parts of the imperial structure. This appears most clearly in their laws, which were gathered up into codes that show the deep influence of Roman law.

* Thatcher and Schwill. *A General History of Europe*, p. 27.

501. With the passing of the fifth century, the Empire, sorely smitten in the storms of barbarian invasion, raised its head and asserted its ancient authority over the Roman world. A series of able rulers in the east prepared the way for the brilliant and vigorous reign of JUSTINIAN (A.D. 527-565). Under him the imperial armies were again victorious, and territories lost for a time were again united to the Empire. He himself was a Slav, one of that sturdy people of Indo-European stock which followed in the track of the Germans and occupied the seats on the Elbe and the Danube abandoned by them in their westward movement. His able generals were Belisarius, a Thracian, and Narses, an Armenian; under their skilful administration and admirable generalship, the army was reorganized and led out successfully to recover lost territory. In A.D. 534 Africa was won back from the Vandals. In 553, after a long and fiercely contested struggle, Italy was rescued from the Ostrogoths. The Visigoths were deprived of parts of Spain. The German tribes on the Danube, as well as the Avars, who were related to the Huns, were kept in check. The Persians in the east were less successfully resisted.

The
Imperial
Reaction.

Justinian.

Military
Achievements.

502. The achievements of Justinian in more peaceful spheres were equally splendid. He was occupied with building, with law and theology, with commerce and manufactures, as well as with war. In architecture and painting he is renowned for the wonderful church of St. Sophia in Constantinople and for the establishment of standards of art, called Byzantine, which endured for centuries. In law, he is immortalized in the Code which bears his name. To do away with the inconsistencies and contradictions which existed among the laws of the Empire, he

Peaceful
Victories.

The Code
of Jus-
tinian.

appointed a commission with Tribonian at its head to collect, harmonize and arrange them. The result was the famous Code of Justinian. "Besides the laws, the opinions, explanations and decisions of famous judges were collected. As in the practice of law to-day, much regard was had for precedent and decisions of similar cases, and these were brought together from all quarters in a collection called the Pandects. For the use of the law students, a treatise on the general principles of Roman law was prepared, which was called the Institutes. Justinian carefully kept the laws which he himself promulgated, and afterward published them under the title of *Novellæ*." *

The Con-
tinued In-
fluence of
the
Empire.

503. Thus once more, under the guidance of Justinian, the Roman Empire proved itself a power in the earth. And though its newly recovered provinces were soon lost, it long continued on its way a light and a fruitful source of culture to the world. The wisdom of Constantine's choice of New Rome for its capital was proved. Behind its impregnable walls, the city was able to bid defiance to barbarian assailants and to send forth again and again its armies to regain its lost territories. Its unrivalled commercial advantages drew irresistibly the trade of the world, and riches continued to flow into it, while learning and culture found refuge and encouragement within its bulwarks. When the west succumbed to barbarian invasions and within its borders Roman civilization faded out and disappeared, it was revived and renewed by the influences which went forth from the eastern capital. Its citizens were alert and progressive, combining the gifts of Greek and Roman; its palaces were many and magnificent. Above all, it was the centre of a Christian life and thought,

Centred in
Constanti-
nople.

* Thatcher and Schwill, *A General History of Europe*, p. 36.



FROM THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, BY PERMISSION OF DODD, MEAD & CO.

CHRIST ENTHRONED : BYZANTINE ART

which transformed the hordes of eastern and northern barbarians that settled on its borders. A sense of nationality was aroused among the motley populations that fell under its spell; Byzantine imperialism, by infusing ancient Græco-Oriental forms with the Christian spirit, brought about the long-deferred realization of the policy of Alexander the Great (§ 271). The world, east and west, owes much to the Constantinople of Justinian and his successors.

504. The revival of imperial vigor was only transient. Under the successors of Justinian the state began again to decline. One cause of this was internal—public spirit and patriotism could not be maintained. The complicated administrative system of Diocletian, while it preserved the Empire as a structure, sapped its inner life. The cost of maintaining so great a body of officials was an enormous drain. Taxation grew by leaps and bounds accompanied by scarcity of money, increase of poverty and decline of population. Class distinctions still further weakened the effectiveness of the body politic. The senatorial class was rich and powerful and was exempted from many civic burdens. These fell largely on the next lower class, called the Curials or Decurions. All who possessed at least twenty-five acres of land were included in this class. They were responsible for local government and the collection of taxes, deficiencies in which they must make up out of their own private fortunes. These obligations were hereditary; a son of a curial entered the order at the age of eighteen; severe laws were passed to prevent any from avoiding the civic burdens, which often proved their ruin. As the result of wars and taxation many small freeholders lost their property and became coloni (§ 481) on the estates

Imperial
Decline.

Ruin of
Free
Citizens.

of the nobles, to be sold with the land to which they belonged. The artisans formed a separate class to which all members were likewise perpetually bound. The result of all these arrangements was that the imperial machine with its rigid system and universal sweep was crushing the life out of the middle classes, destroying all civic patriotism and individual ambition, in the praiseworthy endeavor to hold the state together.

505. But there was also an external cause of the decline of the Empire in the east. A new religion appeared in the Orient and was spread by force of arms throughout the eastern world. This was Mohammedanism.

Moham-
med

506. In far Arabia, on the southwestern side, near the Red sea, lay the city of Mecca, a sacred shrine of Arabian heathenism and a centre of trade for the wandering tribes of the desert. Here, about A.D. 570, was born, in poverty but of a noble family, Mohammed, who was to be the founder of a religious and a political power of wide extent and influence. As he grew up and came somewhat in contact with the world without, he became deeply impressed with the idolatry and wicked practices of his people. Of a highly sensitive nature, perhaps in early life a prey to some nervous disease, he felt himself in a vision called to be the prophet of Allah, the supreme god of the Arabs. After long trial and struggle the Arabs were won for his doctrine. Mohammed founded a church, and his utterances, which Allah commissioned him to speak, were gathered into a sacred book, the Quran, the law and gospel of his followers. He claimed to be the supreme prophet of God and, therefore, all men were called upon to obey his word. To the emperor and to the Persian king he sent his messengers calling for submission to God and

And His
New Faith.

his prophet. When he died (A.D. 632), his followers were ready to go forth to the conquest of the world on behalf of the true faith.

507. A vigorous emperor, HERACLIUS, was on the throne and had brought a war with the Persians to a victorious end. But the fanaticism of the Mohammedans carried all before it. Syria and Egypt were lost. A Mohammedan capital was established at Damascus, from which the successors of the prophet, called Caliphs, ruled over a wide empire that included Persia, Arabia, Syria and Egypt. They entered Asia Minor, and in A.D. 668 appeared before the walls of Constantinople. They were repulsed, but the Empire had forever lost its eastern provinces.

Spread of
Moham-
medanims.

508. Filled with missionary zeal and warlike fury the Mohammedans pressed westward along the northern coast of Africa and added it to their empire. Thence they crossed over into Spain, and in A.D. 711 overthrew the kingdom of the Visigoths (§ 497). From there they advanced into Gaul. It seemed as though the western Roman world, like the eastern, was to fall into their power. But the force that held them in check had been growing strong during these same centuries on Gallic soil. This was the Kingdom of the Franks, to the history of which we now turn.

509. The Franks had advanced but slowly into the Empire, appearing first on the lower Rhine. Thus they kept in touch with their German brethren and renewed their native vigor by constant additions from the old stock. In A.D. 481 a petty tribal king, Clovis, united the Frankish tribes under his authority, defeated a Roman governor and took possession of upper Gaul. From here he pushed eastward and conquered the Alamanni. Still unsatisfied,

The
Franks.

Kingdom
of Clovis.

he drove the Visigoths from southern Gaul into Spain and overcame the Burgundians to the southeast. At his death, in A.D. 511, the kingdom of the Franks stretched from the Pyrenees and the ocean to beyond the Rhine. His sons extended the kingdom eastward in Germany to a point beyond the farthest conquests of the Romans. In time this territory was divided up between members of the royal house, and two kingdoms appeared, Austrasia in the east and Neustria in the west.

510. The Frankish nobility, like many ancient aristocracies in states just emerging from the tribal conditions (§ 106), succeeded in course of time in gaining more and more power over the king. The way in which this took place, however, was peculiar. An important officer of the royal household was the *major domus*, or "mayor of the palace," through whom admission to the king's presence was secured. The noble families were able to put in this position men from their own body and thus to control the king. The *major domus* possessed royal authority though he did not have the royal name. The kings were mere figureheads, "do-nothing-kings."

Rise of
Mayor
of the
Palace.

511. A contemporary thus describes them. "Nothing was left to the king except the kingly name; with long hair and flowing beard, he sat on the throne to receive envoys from all quarters, but it was only to give them the answers which he was bidden to give. His kingly title was an empty shadow, and the allowance for his support depended on the pleasure of the mayor of the palace. The king possessed nothing of his own but one poor farm with a house on it, and a scanty number of attendants, to pay him necessary service and respect. He went abroad in a wagon drawn by oxen, and guided by a herdsman in the country fashion; thus was he brought to the palace or to the annual assemblies of the people for the affairs of the realm; thus he went home again. But the government of the king-

dom, and all business, foreign or domestic, were in the hands of the mayors of the palace."

512. One of the mayors of the palace of the Austrasian Kingdom, Pippin by name, conquered Neustria and Burgundy, and, when he died, left the domains thus gained to his son, Charles Martel (A.D. 714), his successor in the mayoral office. The new ruler confronted the advancing Mohammedans and defeated them near Tours in A.D. 732. They retreated into Spain, and, owing to disturbances in the Mohammedan empire, no further attempt was made to extend their power beyond the Pyrenees. The possible fate of western Christendom, if the victory had been gained by the Mohammedans, has placed the battle of Tours among the world's decisive battles.

Charles
Martel.

Battle of
Tours.

513. During these centuries, which had seen the barbarian deluge, the establishment of barbarian kingdoms, the revival of the Empire and the rise of Mohammedanism, one imperial institution, the Christian Church, had suffered the least and perhaps had gained the most. Since its recognition as the religion of the state, it had advanced rapidly. Its ministers became imperial officials and its religious enactments in its great councils had imperial authority. Among its leaders were men of learning and eloquence, whose writings have deeply affected the history of Christian thought. John Chrysostom ("he of the golden mouth") was one of the most powerful preachers of his age (A.D. 347-407). As Patriarch of Constantinople, he was the idol of the people for his eloquence and the aversion of the court for his fearless denunciation of vice and hypocrisy. He was twice banished by the emperor. Jerome (about A.D. 346-420) was the most learned man of his time. His services to the Church are twofold:

Growth
of the
Church.

Leaders.

Chrysos-
tom.

Jerome.

Monasti-
cism.

(1) He translated the Bible into Latin so successfully, that with some modifications his translation, called the Vulgate,* remained the accepted version of the Latin Church.

(2) He aided powerfully the "monastic" movement. Very early in the history of Christianity its followers, coming into contact with the Roman world that in their eyes was evil and that also persecuted them, were moved to flee from it, to hide in the deserts or other solitary places, that thus they might escape from temptations and trials, and be enabled to live a worthier life. The men who followed this impulse were called "ascetics." When Christianity became the religion of the Empire, the reason for this mode of life changed somewhat. Now it was thought to be the one means of obtaining a higher kind of goodness; it was a method of reaching perfection of character. Soon such persons, who had fled from the world, found that they could better gain these ends by living together in secluded communities. Men and women had separate establishments; they were called "monks" and "nuns" respectively.† All the church leaders praised and encouraged this mode of life and it soon became immensely popular. Jerome fervently preached and rigorously practised the monastic life and succeeded in inducing many wealthy and noble women to take it up. Such persons refused to marry, devoted their wealth to charity, ate coarse and scanty food and dressed in the simplest way. Jerome went so far as to denounce the study of heathen literature, even the noblest works of antiquity. The greatest of the Christian leaders of the age was Augustine,

Augustine.

* Latin, *Vulgata*, i.e., "in common use."

† The words "monk," "monastery" and "monasticism" come from the Greek word *monos*, meaning "alone," "separate."

bishop of Hippo in Africa (A.D. 354-430). Trained in the best culture of the day, he devoted his powerful mind to the defence and upbuilding of orthodox Christianity. He wrote innumerable books, the greatest of which was *The City of God*. This book was inspired by the capture of Rome by Alaric (§ 497), and compared the splendid city of the Empire, now fallen, with the true spiritual capital of mankind, the Christian Church. Its eloquence and its logic, its splendid survey of the past, and its prophetic insight into the future have given this work a place among the classics of all time.

514. In the general progress of the church especial prominence was secured to the church and bishop of Rome. In the troubles that fell upon Italy this church was foremost in asserting the power of Christianity and in representing its spirit. Its bishops were the friends and helpers of the oppressed, the fearless opponents of injustice and cruelty. They also secured recognition for their own claims to superior position among Christian churches (§ 483). Leo I, the Great (A.D. 440-461), obtained an imperial decree (A.D. 445) commanding all the bishops of the west to recognize the supreme headship of the Roman bishop and to receive his word as law. It is true that a little later a church council declared that the bishop of Constantinople was the equal of the Roman and that both were to be superior to all others. But, as the western church, now slowly separating from the eastern, refused to accept this ruling, the Roman supremacy was established. It has been well said that with Leo the history of the papacy began. The Roman bishop became "pope" of the Church in the west with the claim to be the head of all Christendom. Likewise, as an imperial official, he had

Increased
Importance
of the
Roman
Church.

Leo the
Great.

Spiritual
Authority.

Temporal
Power.

authority over the territory about Rome and this he exercised to its fullest extent during the dark years of the fifth century. He "watched over the election of the city officials and directed in what manner the public money should be spent. He had to manage and defend the great tracts of land in different parts of Italy which, from time to time, had been given to the bishopric of Rome. He negotiated with the Germans and even directed the generals sent against them." * Thus, as the Empire declined, his power grew in two directions: (1) in spiritual headship over western Christendom; (2) in worldly, or temporal, authority over parts of the Empire.

Conversion
of the
Barbarians.

515. As leader of western Christendom the papacy entered upon the most important task of winning the barbarians for the true faith. Some of these peoples were already Christians, although in the Arian form (§ 494). Others were still pagan. In the work of conversion the popes employed the monks, whose freedom from family ties and zeal for the Gospel made them admirable instruments for this purpose. The leading spirit in this movement was Pope Gregory I (A.D. 590-604), to whom is due the sending of a missionary monk to England. Its result was not merely the conversion of the Angles and Saxons who had entered and occupied the land, but their acceptance of the primacy of the pope.

Gregory
the
Great.

Boniface.

Another famous missionary whom the popes sent out was Boniface (A.D. 718), through whose labors the Germans across the Rhine were converted and churches organized among them.

516. The Franks, however, were to prove the most potent allies of the popes in their progress toward head-

* Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, p. 52.



EUROPE

about 800 A.D.

Scale of Miles.
0 100 200 300 400 500

- Empire of Charlemagne
- Mohammedan Empire
- Empire of the East

ship in the west. Clovis embraced orthodox Christianity on the occasion of his victory over the Alamanni (§ 509), and ranged his people on the side of the papacy. Christianity flourished exceedingly among them, although the purity of life among the priests and bishops was not on a par with that of the doctrine. When, however, Boniface, having completed his labors among the Germans, sought to reform the Frankish church, he found a helper in Charles Martel. The decisive step was taken in A.D. 748, when the bishops of Gaul agreed to uphold the orthodox faith and obey the commands of the pope at Rome. Thus the strongest force in the new world was won for Christ and the Roman Church. Henceforth the history of the Franks and the papacy were inseparably connected.

The Franks
and the
Faith.

Acceptance
of Papal
Supremacy.

When Charles Martel died, his mayorial power was handed on to his two sons, Karloman and Pippin. The former soon retired to a monastery, leaving Pippin alone in the office. "Deeming that the time was now ripe, Pippin laid his plans for obtaining the royal title. He sent an embassy to Rome to ask Pope Zacharias who should be king: the one who had the title without the power, or the one who had the power without the title. The pope, who was looking abroad for an ally, replied that it seemed to him that the one who had the power should also be king; and acting on this, Pippin called an assembly of his nobles at Soissons (A.D. 751), deposed the last phantom king of the older line, and was himself elected and anointed king." *

Pippin,
King of
the Franks

517. This alliance between Roman pope and Frankish king soon had practical results. The pope found his temporal authority (§ 514) threatened by the Lombards.

The
Lombards.

* Thatcher and Schwill, *A General History of Europe*, p. 47.

This people had entered Italy soon after the Ostrogoths had been overcome by the Emperor Justinian. By A.D. 568 they were in possession of north Italy with their capital at Pavia. Then, in separate bands, they spread southward, settling here and there, conquering large parts; only Ravenna, the seat of the emperor's representative, the Exarch, and the district about Rome were able to maintain themselves. When, however, the Lombards united under a king, the pope found himself hard pressed. He appealed to his overlord and natural protector, the Emperor Leo, in the east. But the latter had introduced a violent controversy into his realm by commanding the removal from Christian churches of all images as tending to encourage idolatry. His violence in enforcing this command gained him the name of Iconoclast ("Image-breaker"). The pope refused to obey the decree and was supported by the western churches. Thus the fellowship between the two was broken off and no help came from the east. The pope turned to the west and appealed to Pippin to deliver him. "Pippin made two campaigns into Italy and compelled the Lombards to cede to the pope a strip of territory which lay to the south of them (A.D. 755). This marks the beginning of the temporal sovereignty of the pope. He was freed from the eastern emperor, and recognized as the political as well as the ecclesiastical ruler of Rome and its surrounding territory, under the overlordship of Pippin, who had the title of *Patricius*." * The Lombards were made tributary to the Frankish king.

The Pope's
Appeal to
the Eastern
Emperor.

Pippin His
Saviour.

Accession
of Charle-
magne.

518. His two sons, Karloman and Karl, succeeded to the kingdom on Pippin's death (A.D. 768). The former's early death left Karl sole king. He is the first prominent

* Thatcher and Schwill, *A General History of Europe*, p. 130.

figure of the times of whom we know something distinct and detailed. The reason for this is not far to seek. With him the old world passed away and the new world stepped into its place. To later ages he was Karl the Great, *Carolus Magnus*, whence the common form, Charlemagne. His personal appearance is described to us by his contemporaries.

519. We copy the admirable condensation of this description made by Robinson: "He was tall and stoutly built: his face was round, his eyes were large and keen, his nose somewhat above the common size, his expression bright and cheerful. Whether he stood or sat, his form was full of dignity; for the good proportion and grace of his body prevented the observer from noticing that his neck was rather short and his person somewhat too stout. . . . His step was firm and his aspect manly; his voice was clear but rather weak for so large a body. He was active in all bodily exercises, delighted in riding and hunting, and was an expert swimmer. His excellent health and his physical alertness and endurance can alone explain the astonishing swiftness with which he moved about his vast realm and conducted innumerable campaigns in widely distant regions in startlingly rapid succession."

520. With the abundant activity of Charlemagne the student of ancient history does not need to acquaint himself. The king's relations to Italy and the pope alone require attention. The troubles of the papacy with the Lombards continued in his time, until, on the appeal of the pope, he entered Italy, conquered the Lombards, made himself their king (A.D. 774), and restored to the pope his territories. When a party in Rome sought to deprive Pope Leo III of his temporal authority and drove him from the city, he again appealed to Charlemagne, who reinstated him. A service of thanksgiving was held in St. Peter's Church on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, at which

His Relations with the Pope.

Crowned Roman Emperor.

Charlemagne was present. While the king was kneeling before the altar, the pope placed upon his head the imperial crown and hailed him "Emperor of the Romans."

521. A Frankish chronicle gives the following reasons for this act which seems to have taken Charlemagne by surprise.

"The name of Emperor had ceased among the Greeks, for they were enduring the reign of a woman [Irene], wherefore it seemed good both to Leo, the apostolic pope, and to the holy fathers [the bishops] who were in council with him, and to all Christian men, that they should name Charles, king of the Franks, as Emperor. For he held Rome itself, where the ancient Cæsars had always dwelt, in addition to all his other possessions in Italy, Gaul and Germany. Wherefore, as God had granted him all these dominions, it seemed just to all that he should take the title of Emperor, too, when it was offered to him at the wish of all Christendom."

What This
Act Means.

522. This assumption of the imperial title by Charlemagne has two aspects. (1) In one sense it is only a continuation of the past. The years of confusion in the west were over and a well-ordered state came into existence, embracing in its unity the old imperial provinces, and ruled in the name of Rome, a name hallowed by centuries of splendid history. So it was looked upon at the time. Charlemagne was regarded as a successor of the line of eastern Emperors.* But (2) in a more important sense it was entirely new. A new race, a barbarian people, upheld the imperial throne and were represented in its occupant. The old Roman blood and institutions were swallowed up in the Teutonic. Even more significant is

A New Era.

the union of this new imperial people with the Christian

* The Empress Irene was on the throne, and it was regarded as a disgrace that the imperial seat should be occupied by a woman.

Church. Moreover, in the east the Semitic Arabs, inspired with zeal for a new faith, had forced back almost to the walls of Constantinople the eastern Empire, now shorn of its ancient strength. Such a breaking up of the past institutions and such a combination of new historical forces introduces us to a new order and indicates that the Ancient World has passed away and another world is rising on its ruins.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW

III. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

1. The Making of Rome. 2. Rome's Western Empire. 3. Rome's Eastern Empire.

4. ROME'S WORLD-EMPIRE.

[(1) The world-empire under the Principate—(2) The world-empire under the Despotism]—(3) The Breaking up of the World-empire and the End of the Ancient Period: Four centuries of confusion—the barbarian deluge—Alaric and Visigoths—Gaiseric and Vandals—Attila and Huns—fall of Western Empire—Theodoric and Ostrogoths—Rome transforms the barbarians—Imperial revival under Justinian—his work—internal decay of the Empire—external attack—Mohammedanism—early history of the Franks—battle of Tours—growth of the Church—its great leaders—monasticism—advance of the Church of Rome—conversion of barbarians—Franks accept Roman Christianity—Charlemagne crowned by the Pope—its significance—the end of the ancient world.

REVIEW EXERCISES. 1. What do Alaric, Attila, Gaiseric, Theodoric, Clovis stand for? 2. Why are the following important: Catalaunian Fields, Code of Justinian, Exarch, Tours? 3. What has rendered the following famous: Jerome, Charles Martel, Gregory, Justinian, Stilicho, Augustine? 4. What is the date of the fall of the Western Empire, of the death of Mohammed, of the Battle of Tours, of the crowning of Charlemagne?

COMPARATIVE STUDIES. 1. Compare Charlemagne and Constantine. 2. Compare the origin and growth of Mohammed-

danism and of Christianity. 3. In what was the relation of the Barbarians to the Empire like that of Philip of Macedon to the Greeks (§§ 245, 251, 252)? 4. Compare the rise of the Franks with the rise of the Roman state (see Wolfson, p. 488).

TOPICS FOR READING AND ORAL REPORT. 1. **The Germans and Their Culture.** Laing, pp. 401-409 (source); Seignobos, pp. 440, 441; West, pp. 458-463; Botsford, pp. 293-296. 2. **The Visigoths and Alaric.** Seignobos, pp. 421-425, 442; Gibbon, pp. 226-238; Botsford, pp. 297-303. 3. **The Ostrogoths and Theodoric.** Botsford, pp. 312-315; Seignobos, pp. 444-446. 4. **The Vandals and Gaiseric.** Botsford, pp. 303-306; Seignobos, pp. 429, 442. 5. **The Conquest of Britain.** West, pp. 483-485; Botsford, pp. 321-322. 6. **The Huns and Attila.** Merivale, pp. 648-651; Seignobos, pp. 427-429; Gibbon, pp. 200-203, 251-263. 7. **The Lombards.** Wolfson, pp. 484-486; Gibbon, pp. 378-383; Botsford, pp. 319-321; Seignobos, pp. 446-447. 8. **Theodoric.** Gibbon, ch. 19. 9. **Justinian and the Eastern Empire.** Gibbon, chs. 20-22; Seignobos, pp. 449-456. 10. **The Decay of Society—Causes and Course.** Wolfson, p. 478; Seignobos, pp. 432-438. 11. **The Fathers of the Church.** Morey, p. 324. 12. **Rise of the Roman Church.** Gibbon, pp. 383-384; Seignobos, pp. 460-465; Wolfson, pp. 490-493; West, pp. 505-512. 13. **The Iconoclasts.** Gibbon, pp. 428-432. 14. **Monasticism.** Seignobos, pp. 465-467; West, pp. 490-492. 15. **Mohammed.** Gibbon, pp. 451-465; Seignobos, pp. 467-471. 16. **The Victories of Mohammedanism.** Gibbon, pp. 465-483; Seignobos, pp. 471-475. 17. **The Rise of the Franks.** Wolfson, pp. 486-487; Seignobos, pp. 443-444; Botsford, pp. 322-328; Gibbon, pp. 274-277. 18. **Charlemagne.** Seignobos, pp. 479-485; Botsford, pp. 328-331; West, pp. 513-522.

GENERAL REVIEW OF PART III, DIVISION 3

44 B.C.—A.D. 800

TOPICS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION. 1. Follow the different steps in the Relation of the Emperor to the Institutions of the Republic (§§ 425, 426, 436, 442, 446, 449, 466, 478, 479, 484, 485). 2. Progress in the Administrative Organization of the Empire (§§ 443, 467, 469, 478, 484, 503). 3. External Causes tending to weaken the Empire (§§ 429, 468, 476, 480, 497, 500, 505).

4. Internal Causes tending to Weaken the Empire (§§ 436, 438, 457, 469, 480, 481, 495, 504). 5. The Problem of the Succession in its various stages (§§ 438, 446, 466, 477, 478, 484). 6. Stages in the Organization of Christianity (§§ 461, 475, 483, 494, 495, 513, 514). 7. Important Dates in the History of the Empire. 8. A Chronological List of the Invasions of the Barbarians. 9. Trace the gradual separation of the Empire into an Eastern and a Western part (§§ 484, 489, 491, 493, 494, 497, 498, 503, 514, 516, 517).

PICTURE EXERCISES. 1. With Plate XIV before you compare the figures and note differences of artistic and historical importance. 2. On Plates XV and XVI compare coins 6 and 8 with coins 9 and 14. What important differences are seen? 3. Compare coins 11 and 13. Bearing in mind whose coins these are, what historical conclusions can you draw? 4. Compare Plates XX and XXIV to register the advance or decline in artistic character. 5. Why have Plates X and XXIV decided differences in subject and style? 6. On Plate XVIII study head 6; does this style suit the man? How? 7. Why are the illustrations of Plate XXIII characteristic of Rome? 8. What does Plate XXI tell us of Roman Life in the first century A.D.?

SUBJECTS FOR WRITTEN PAPERS. 1. The City of Rome under the Empire. Merivale, ch. 79. 2. The Persecutions of the Christians. Munro, pp. 164-176 (sources); Univ. of Pa. Translations, Vol. IV, No. 1; Gibbon, ch. 9; Seignobos, pp. 366-372. 3. The History of Roman Law. Gibbon, ch. 23. 4. Rome in Juvenal's Time from his Own Report. Laing, pp. 433-449 (translation). 5. What the German Gave to the Roman and Received from Him. West, pp. 486-496. 6. An Account of the Parthian Kingdom, its History and Relations to Rome. Ency. Britannica, Art. Persia, (the part dealing with Parthia). 7. A Letter from Pliny to Tacitus Describing His Own Life and Activities, Interests, Pleasures, etc. Laing, pp. 451-471 (contains translations of Pliny's letters); The Atlantic, June, 1886; Thomas, Roman Life under the Cæsars, ch. 14. 8. The Gifts of Rome to Human Civilization. Morey, ch. 30. 9. An Account of the Historical Event Suggested by Plate XIX.

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR ADVANCED STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

I. GENERAL WORKS

- HELMOLT. *History of the World*. Vol. III, *Western Asia and Egypt*; Vol. IV, *The Mediterranean Countries*. Dodd, Mead and Co. The most recent and best of the great general histories.
- CUNNINGHAM. *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects: Ancient Times*. Cambridge Univ. Press. Uniquely valuable for its point of view, which is ordinarily overlooked. Covers with special fullness the classical period.
- CLASSICAL ATLAS. For Schools. Edited by G. B. Grundy. London: Murray. Promises to be the most artistic and accurate school atlas published.
- SEYFFART. *Dictionary of Classical Antiquity*. Ed. Nettleship and Sandys. Macmillan.
- HARPER'S. *Dictionary of Classical Antiquity*. Harper and Bros.
- TOZER. *Classical Geography* (Literature Primers). American Book Co.

II. THE EASTERN EMPIRES

- HARPER. *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*. Appleton. A useful collection of accurate translations from these ancient documents.
- Records of the Past*. First Series, 12 vols. Second Series, 6 vols. (New York: Pott.) Translations from Egyptian and Babylonian-Assyrian documents by various hands. An excellent series.
- MASPERO. *History of the Ancient East*. 1. *The Dawn of Civilization*. 2. *The Struggle of the Nations*. 3. *The Passing of the Empires*. 3 vols. Appleton. A most elaborate work by an excellent scholar. Full of illustrations. Costly but of great usefulness for school study.
- MCCURDY. *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*. 3 vols. Macmillan. An elaborate survey of the Oriental world from the Hebrews as a centre. Learned and instructive.

Encyclopedia Biblica, edited by Cheyne and Black. 4 vols. Macmillan. *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. Hastings. 4 vols. Scribners.

These latest Bible dictionaries have elaborate and valuable articles and maps dealing with the ancient Oriental peoples.

RAWLINSON. *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*. 3 vols. Scribners. Always entertaining and useful, but now largely antiquated by the advance of knowledge.

ROGERS. *History of Babylonia and Assyria*. 2 vols. Eaton and Mains. Besides a good historical survey the book has an elaborate introduction dealing with the history of excavation and the decipherment of inscriptions.

RAWLINSON. *History of Ancient Egypt*. 2 vols. Scribners.

PATON. *The Early History of Syria and Palestine*. Scribners. An admirable little book, well constructed and accurate.

PERROT AND CHIPIEZ. *History of Art in Ancient Egypt*. 2 vols. *History of Art in Ancient Babylonia and Assyria*. 2 vols. Dodd, Mead and Co. These are the best works on ancient Oriental art, fully illustrated. They are costly, but fully repay constant consultation. The same is true of the other works of these authors.

ERMAN. *Life in Ancient Egypt*. Macmillan. The best book on Egyptian antiquities.

JASTROW. *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. Ginn and Co. The standard treatise on this subject.

STEINDORFF. *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*. Putnams. An excellent survey by a competent scholar.

III. THE GREEK EMPIRES

ARISTOTLE. *On the Constitution of Athens*. Translated by Kenyon. Macmillan.

HOMER. *Iliad*. Translated by Lang, Leaf and Myers. *Odyssey*. Translated by Butcher and Lang. Macmillan. Excellent prose versions.

HERODOTUS. Translated by Rawlinson, edited by Grant. 2 vols. Scribners.

THUCYDIDES. Translated by Jowett. Clarendon Press.

XENOPHON. *Works*. Translated by Dakyns. Macmillan. These are the best translations, but in the Bohn series others may be obtained at less expense.

PLATO. *Socrates*. A translation of the *Apology*, *Crito* and *Parts of the Phædo* of Plato. Scribners.

SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*. Prose translation by G. H. Palmer. Houghton, Mifflin and Co. *Works*. In Prose, translated by Coleridge. Bell.

ÆSCHYLUS. Translated by Plumptre. D. C. Heath and Co.

EURIPIDES. Translated into prose by Coleridge. Bell. In verse by Way. Macmillan.

ARISTOPHANES. Translated by Frere ("Acharnians," "Knights," "Birds" in Morley's Universal Library). Routledge. 5 vols.

DEMOSTHENES. 5 vols. Translated by Kennedy. Macmillan. On the Crown. Translated by Collier. Longmans.

CURTIVS. *History of Greece*. 5 vols. Scribners.

HOLM. *History of Greece*. 4 vols. Macmillan.

Curtius and Holm are very different in point of view and treatment. Curtius emphasizes the æsthetic; Holm the political. Curtius is the more interesting; Holm is more recent and hence more accurate and satisfactory.

DURUY. *History of Greece*. Dana Estes and Co. Profusely illustrated and written with French clearness and grace. Not, however, the work of a great scholar.

TSOUNTAS AND MANATT. *The Mycenæan Age*. Houghton, Mifflin and Co. A thorough discussion of recent discoveries in primitive Greece (up to 1897).

PERROT AND CHIEPIEZ. *History of Art in Primitive Greece*. 2 vols. Practically a discussion of Mycenæan Civilization.

SCHUCKARDT. *Schliemann's Excavations*. Macmillan.

GRANT. *Greece in the Age of Pericles*. Scribners.

MAHAFFY. *Social Life in Greece*. Macmillan.

" *Greek Life and Thought from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*. Macmillan.

" *The Greek World under Roman Sway*. Macmillan.

Mahafty's books are stimulating, full of learning, sometimes rather opinionated.

HOGARTH. *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*. Scribners. A stirring exposition of the ideals and achievements of these heroes. Especially appreciative of Philip.

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FREEMAN. *History of Federal Government*. Macmillan. One of Freeman's best works. Deals in great detail with the Achæan and Ætolian Leagues.

GARDNER, E. A. *Ancient Athens*. Macmillan. The work of an expert in Greek art and archæology.

“ *A hand-book of Greek Sculpture*. Macmillan.

DIEHL. *Excursions in Greece*. Grevel.

BECKER. *Charicles*. Longmans. This time-honored scholastic tale of ancient Greece is still useful for reference.

MARSHALL. *A Short History of Greek Philosophy*.

DYER. *The Gods in Greece*. Macmillan.

DAVIDSON. *Education of the Greek People*. Appletons.

JEBB. *Classical Greek Poetry*. Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

SYMONDS. *Studies in the Greek Poets*. Macmillan.

The above are five excellent works on the phases of Greek civilization indicated by their titles.

IV. THE EMPIRE OF ROME

LIVY. Translated by Spillan. 4 vols. Bohn.

TACITUS. Translated by Church and Brodribb. 2 vols. Macmillan.

POLYBIUS. Translated by Shuckburgh. 2 vols. Macmillan.

APPIAN. Translated by White. 2 vols. Macmillan.

Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Vol. 5.

No. 1. Monumentum Ancyranum, The Deeds of Augustus.

CICERO. *Letters*. Translated by Shuckburgh. Bohn.

“ *Works*. Translated in Bohn's Library.

LUCRETIVS. Translated into prose by Munro. Bell.

VERGIL. Translated into prose by Bryce. 2 vols. Bell.

HORACE. Translated by Martin. 2 vols. Scribners. Or, into prose by Lonsdale and Lee. Macmillan.

OVID. Translated by Riley. Bohn.

JUVENAL. Translated by Gifford. Bohn.

MARCUS AURELIUS. *Meditations*. Translated with introduction by Rendall. Macmillan.

MOMMSEN. *A History of Rome*. 5 vols. Scribners.

“ *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*. 2 vols. Scribners.

These seven volumes contain Vols. 1-3 and 5 of the German original. The fourth volume of the History, covering the period from Julius Cæsar to Augustus, was left unwritten.

DURUY. *History of Rome*. 8 vols. Dana Estes and Co. Of the same character as his History of Greece.

PELHAM. *Outlines of Roman History*. Putnams. The most analytic and scholarly one-volume history. Too advanced for the elementary student. Reaches to A.D. 476.

STRACHAN-DAVIDSON. *Cicero*. Putnams.

FOWLER. *Cæsar*. Putnams.

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MERIVALE. *History of the Romans under the Empire*. 6 vols. Appletons. From Augustus to the Antonines. Not a great work, but clear, in full detail and interesting.

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Two useful lives of the first Roman emperor.

BURY. *The Later Roman Empire*. 2 vols. Macmillan.

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JOHNSTONE. *Mohammed and his Power*. Scribners.

MACDONALD. *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*. Scribners.

The above two useful works in small compass cover the whole field of Mohammedan history, life and thought.

GREENIDGE. *Roman Public Life*. Macmillan. Fuller than Abbott's *Roman Political Institutions*, scholarly, valuable.

ARNOLD. *Roman Provincial Administration*. Macmillan. A standard authority.

RAMSAY. *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*. Putnams.

A stimulating discussion by an unusually competent scholar.

UHLHORN. *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*. Scribners.

STANLEY. *History of the Eastern Church*. Scribners. Vivid pictures of the relations of the Church and the Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries.

LECKY. *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*. 2 vols. Appletons.

INGE. *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*. Scribners.

PRESTON AND DODGE. *Private Life of the Romans*. Leach.

THOMAS. *Roman Life under the Cæsars*. Putnams.

DILL. *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*. Macmillan.

The above four works are excellent hand-books on the society of the periods with which they deal.

LANCIANI. *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries.* Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

“ *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome.* Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

GUHL AND KONER. *Life of the Greeks and Romans.* Scribners.

HILL. *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins.* Macmillan.

FOWLER. *Roman Festivals.* Macmillan.

The above are two excellent scholarly manuals on these subjects.

BECKER. *Gallus.* Longmans. Of the same character as his *Chari-cles.*

MAU. *Pompeii, Its Life and Art.* Macmillan.

WICKHOFF. *Roman Art.* Macmillan.

ANDERSON AND SPIERS. *The Architecture of Greece and Rome.* Botsford.

The best volume on this subject.

CRUTTWELL. *Roman Literature.* Putnams.

LAWTON. *Introduction to Classical Latin Literature.* Scribners.

SELLAR. *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age.* Clarendon Press.

Cruttwell is very full, Lawton more popular, Sellar a standard treatise on its theme.

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE I. THE PARTHENON AND ITS FRIEZE.—The attempt is made in this plate to reproduce the effect wrought by the use of color on Greek temples. It is taken from Fenger's work on the subject. We are looking at the northeast corner of the Parthenon. (See Plate VII and § 182.) The top of the Doric column is impressively shown. The sculptured "metopes" in high relief represent various scenes, the meaning of which is doubtful. On the right side is a knight in battle array and a combat between footmen. On the other side are female figures. The refinement, coupled with vigor in the pose and execution of the figures, should be marked. At the bottom of the plate the portion of the frieze pictured is taken from that upon the east side of the building. From the right the procession of maidens bearing sacrificial vessels is advancing toward a group of men conversing. These are presumably the archons of the city. To the left, seated facing them, are the gods and goddesses. The one farthest to the left has been identified with Poseidon, next to him in order are Dionysus, Demeter (?), Aphrodite with Eros at her knee. On the sculptures of the Parthenon, see Tarbell, ch. 8, and Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, ch. 7.

PLATE II. TYPICAL ORIENTAL HEADS.—1. The portrait of Hammurabi stands on a limestone slab found near the site of ancient Agade (§ 13). The king is in the attitude of adoration with hands uplifted. Study the cap, the hair and the beard as illustrating the style of dress. 2. The head of Rameses II is taken from his mummy now in the Museum at Cairo, Egypt. The remarkable profile betokens a man of imperious character. 3. The head of Esarhad-don, the Assyrian, is from a stone tablet found in Syria. The conical cap betokens royalty. The curled beard and hair are characteristic of Assyrian-Babylonian style, and may be compared with those of head 1. The king holds in his uplifted hand an object

which he is offering (?) to his god. The Semitic type of face is evident. 4. The Syrian head is equally Semitic. The thick shock of hair, bound with a fillet, and the beard are characteristic of the Syrian in distinction from the shaven Egyptian and the carefully barbered Assyrian. 5. The head of the Philistine illustrates by its unlikeness to the features of the other heads the non-Semitic character of this people. The helmet or head-dress (of feathers?) is likewise peculiar. 6. The Hittite is distinguishable from Semitic heads by nose and chin. The hair hangs in a pigtail and the eyes are oblique, suggestive of the Chinese. Heads 4, 5 and 6 are from Egyptian reliefs. Observe that all of these heads are in profile. Why was this characteristic of Oriental art? See Tarbell, pp. 33, 38-42.

PLATE III. PAINTING FROM AN EGYPTIAN TOMB.—These pictures adorn the wall on the tomb of a noble in the time of the twelfth dynasty (§ 16). At the top is a hieroglyphic inscription giving the usual prayers for the dead. Following in order from top to bottom are represented (1) the making of sandals, (2) the making of arrows, chairs, and boxes, (3) goldsmiths' work, (4) the making of pottery, (5) the preparing of flax and the making of linen, (6) harvesting and threshing, (7) ploughing and sowing. The picturing of these on the wall of tomb, together with the sacred words above, was thought to assure to the dead the enjoyment of such things in the world to come. Besides the representation of Egyptian life here, the student has an excellent opportunity to study the merits and defects of Egyptian art.

PLATE IV. BABYLONIAN AND EGYPTIAN TEMPLES.—*a.* This restoration of the temple at Nippur was made by Professor Hilprecht. As one passed through the great oblong tower-gate in the outer wall, he entered the outer court, measuring 260 by 260 feet, containing a small shrine. Through similar but greater gates the inner court was reached. There directly in front was the mighty stage-tower, its sides 190 by 128 feet. At the top of the tower was a shrine to the god. Besides the stage-tower was the temple proper, the "house of Bel." It consisted of one-story roofed chambers and open courts. Off to the right of the picture is one of the city-gates. In front of the temple area was the canal.

b. The Egyptian temple lay along the Nile. Leading up to the entrance was a road bordered by sphynxes. In front of the gate

were two obelisks, symbolizing, perhaps, the rays of the sun-god, and some sitting statues of the kings or gods. A square entrance, flanked by huge buttresses called pylons, admitted to the court, surrounded by a portico upheld by pillars. Through this was the passage by pylon gateways into a covered hall, thence into another pillared court. The "holy of holies," the shrine of the god, was in the low rooms at the rear of the long series of courts and halls. Thick high walls and lofty pylons shut off entrance except through the front of the temple. Light was admitted through the courts. The chambers were entirely dark. The length of the whole structure was over 790 feet, its width over 100 feet.

PLATE V. TYPICAL ASSYRIAN SCENES.—*a*. This relief is cut from the surface of a limestone slab, and was one of a series which lined the walls of the Assyrian royal palace. King Ashurbanipal (§ 72) is galloping after a lion and in the act of discharging an arrow at him. An attendant follows with fresh javelins and arrows. The energy and life of the scene, as well as the subject, are typical. A study of the dress and, indeed, of the various objects represented, as well as of the excellences and defects of the pose, will reward the student with new light on Assyrian life and art.

b. This relief represents the siege and assault of the city of Lachish by King Sennacherib (§ 72). See 2 Kings 18: 14. A breach has been made in the walls directly in front, where the Assyrian military engines are playing. Torches are being hurled down upon the besiegers; the fire is being put out with pans of water; archers are pouring clouds of arrows on the defenders. Scaling ladders are raised against the walls. In front, prisoners are impaled on stakes. From one of the towers captives are coming forth with their effects. The animation and variety of the scene are only equalled by the grotesqueness of the art. Try to get the artist's point of view and study the details of the scene for the collection of facts concerning ancient military life.

PLATE VI. GOLD CUPS OF THE MYCENÆAN AGE.—These cups were found at Vaphio in Laconia in 1888, and hence are called the Vaphio cups. The upper design represents a hunt of wild cattle. The centre one is caught in a net. On the right another is in full flight, while on the left a third has thrown one hunter and is goring another. In the lower design the bulls are tame and under the care

of a herdsman. The material is beaten gold. A sense of abounding life coupled with some crudity is the characteristic impression made by these works. See Tarbell, pp. 67-69; Tsountas and Manatt, pp. 227-228.

PLATE VII. THE ACROPOLIS.—This restoration of the buildings on the Acropolis is, like all such attempts, probably not accurate, but it represents the general situation and relation of the different structures (§ 182). The entrance at the western end was by the Propylæa, at the head of which stood the colossal statue of Athene. To the right was the Temple of Victory. At the centre of the elevated platform the Parthenon lay on the right and the Erechtheum on the left. The Parthenon was entered at the eastern end. Other smaller temples filled up the enclosure. The Acropolis was about 1,000 feet long by 500 feet wide; it was a sort of oval with its long axis lying east and west. (See Plan of Athens, p. 133.)

PLATE VIII. THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES.—This statue was found at Olympia in 1877. The god Hermes has the infant Dionysus on his arm. The god's mantle is thrown over a tree-trunk and he stands with his body gracefully curved, its weight resting on the right leg and left arm. It would seem that the right arm held something which was being offered to Dionysus. The material is Parian marble. The child is not successfully modelled, but the figure of Hermes is of extraordinary excellence. Forget the mutilation as far as possible. A special study should be given to the head. For a full description see Tarbell, pp. 221-223.

PLATE IX. THE LAOCOÖN GROUP.—This group represents the scene described by Vergil in the *Æneid* (II, 199-233), where the priest Laocoön, advising against admitting the Trojan horse into Troy, is, with his sons, slain by serpents. It is a work of the school of Rhodes about 150 B.C. The exhibition of horror and agony is the salient feature of the work. The Laocoon has been variously judged. For examples, see Tarbell, pp. 264-267.

PLATE X. THE ALEXANDER MOSAIC.—This mosaic came from the floor of a room in the so-called house of the Faun in Pompeii. In the lower left-hand corner a portion of it has been broken away. It represents probably the battle of Issus (§ 258) at the point where Darius turns in his chariot to flee, and Alexander on horseback presses on in his charge. "At the head of the Greek horsemen rides

Alexander, fearless, unhelmeted, leading a charge against the picked guard of Darius. The long spear of the terrible Macedonian is piercing the side of a Persian noble, whose horse sinks under him. The driver of Darius's chariot is putting the lash to the horses, but the fleeing king turns with an expression of anguish and terror to witness the death of his courtier. . . . The grouping of the combatants, the characterization of the individual figures, the skill with which the expressions upon the faces are rendered, and the delicacy of coloring, give this picture a high rank among ancient works of art." See Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, p. 288.

PLATE XI. TYPICAL GREEK HEADS.—1. The first is taken from a full-length statue of Sophocles (§ 183). It is an ideal representation of the poet, no doubt, but it is instructive as illustrating the Greek type. The arrangement of hair and beard should be noticed. The failure to work out the detail of the eye gives the aspect of blindness, and is a defect of Greek sculpture. Compare some modern statue in this respect. 2. The head of Pericles bears a helmet as a sign of leadership (§ 171). A calm, thoughtful, somewhat reserved expression on the face is discernible. 3. The head of Socrates is noticeable for its originality, and offers some instructive comparisons with the preceding. The breadth of the face contrasts with that of the others. 4. The head of Aphrodite is taken from the statue found in the island of Melos. The grace and purity of the face illustrate the Greek ideals of love and of woman. 5. The head of Alexander is taken from a relief on a sarcophagus now in Constantinople. He wears a lion's head instead of a helmet, and the ram's horn appears, typical of his divine descent from the Egyptian god Amon. The characteristic Greek profile is instructive. 6. The last head is taken from a Græco-Egyptian portrait painted on a wooden panel placed in a grave along with the mummy and intended to represent the features of the dead. It is clear that the Greek in Egypt remained in all essential traits a Greek. The thin beard, the oval face, the large eye, the straight nose find their counterparts in the other heads. A golden wreath in the hair is exquisitely done.

PLATE XII. CLASSICAL TEMPLES.—a. The Greek temple at Pæstum in southern Italy belongs to the sixth century B.C. It is, therefore, an early type. A double row of sturdy Doric columns

surrounds the shrine. The temple was built of limestone and covered with stucco.

b. The Roman temple is a modification of the Greek. This temple, 59 by 117 feet, is surrounded by a single row of Corinthian columns 30 feet 6 inches in height. It dates, probably, from the time of Hadrian (A.D. 122). Changes in certain features of the temple of the Greek type can be clearly seen by comparison of these two structures.

PLATE XIII. TYPICAL SCULPTURED FIGURES.—*a.* The statue of Khafre is of green diorite, a very hard stone. The Pharaoh is seated on the royal chair in an attitude of regal composure and majesty. The head-dress, false beard and body garment are characteristically Egyptian. Special attention should be given to the face and the pose. The right leg of the statue is badly broken. In judging of Egyptian art the other specimens in Plates II and III should be taken into account, and also the examples in Tarbell, pp. 16-35.

b. Posidippus was an Athenian playwright of the third century B.C., and the statue is a striking example of the portrait statuary of the period. The easy grace of the pose as well as the cultured refinement of the face and bearing are especially worthy of note. The student will be profited by a study of the dress, the chair, and other accessories. It would be well to compare these two figures with each other, and also the face of the Greek with those of the typical heads of Plate XI.

PLATE XIV. TYPICAL SCULPTURED FIGURES.—*a.* The statue of Ashurnatsirpal is the only fully wrought Assyrian statue known. The king stands in royal majesty, his arms bare. The right hand holds a sceptre, the left a mace. The hair and beard as well as the royal dress deserve notice. See Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 202; Tarbell, pp. 40, 41.

b. The statue of Trajan represents him, probably, in the act of addressing his soldiers. He wears a cuirass, and his mantle is draped over his shoulder and around his arm. A series of instructive comparisons may be drawn between the two royal figures on this plate.

PLATES XV and XVI. TYPICAL COINS.—1. A coin of Lydia of the type of the Babylonian "stater." One of the earliest known coins (§ 119). Date about 700 B.C. The material is electrum.

2. A Persian gold "daric" (§ 87) of Darius I. 3. A gold "stater" of Mithridates of Pontus (§ 404). Here is the king himself represented, with hair blown back as though he were driving a chariot. The reverse shows a stag feeding. A long period of growth in the artistic production of coins lies between 2 and 3. 4. Another Oriental gold coin, representing Queen Berenice of Egypt, wife of Ptolemy III. Both this and the preceding are noticeable because on them are portraits of the reigning monarchs. 5. A silver medalion of Syracuse. The coins of this city reached the highest artistic excellence. The head is that of Persephone surrounded by dolphins. The reverse shows the victor in a chariot-race; over the chariot hovers Victory conferring the laurel. The design and workmanship of this coin are specially worthy of study. 6. A silver "stater" of the Greek city of Amphipolis and dating about 400 B.C. The head of the god Apollo appears on the one side, and on the other a torch such as the racers bore. The god's head is remarkable for animation. 7. A silver "tetradrachm" of Athens, about 550 B.C., earlier and ruder than the preceding. On the one side is the head of Athene, patron goddess of the city, on the other the olive branch and sacred owl. 8. A silver "shekel" of Judæa in the time of Simon Maccabæus (§ 374). A cup, a pot of manna and triple lily are the emblems, and the letters signify "shekel of Israel," and "Jerusalem the holy." 9. A bronze "sestertius" of Nero. The emperor appears on horseback armed with a spear and accompanied by a mounted soldier carrying a banner. 10. A silver coin of the Roman Republic about 100 B.C. The head of Roma, Victory in a chariot and an ear of corn are represented. The name of the official who coined the piece also appears. 11. A gold "solidus" of the Emperor Honorius (§ 497) from Ravenna. The portrait of the emperor is given in the style characteristic of this late age. He wears the diadem and holds the sceptre. 12. A bronze "sestertius" of Antoninus Pius (§ 465). An excellent wreathed portrait-head of the emperor stands on one side; on the other is Roma with the palladium, and the inscription "Roma æterna." 13. A silver coin of Augustus (§ 426). The emperor appears on the one side; on the other, one of his favorite symbols, the Sphynx. 14. A silver "denarius" of the Republic (99-94 B.C.). The bust of Roma appears. On the other side are three citizens engaged in voting—a

typical scene. 15. A silver "argenteus" of the Emperor Caracalla (§ 478). His portrait, with his head surrounded with the sun's rays, is characteristic of the time. (See § 482.) 16. A bronze "as" of Rome, weighing one and one-fifth ounces. The symbols are the head of the god Janus and the prow of a galley. The date is just before 217 B.C. The symbols are characteristic in view of the date. Why? (See § 360.)

PLATE XVII. THE ROMAN FORUM.—This plate represents the Forum and its surroundings in the imperial period. The Forum itself was never very large (§ 307) and was early surrounded by buildings and filled with statues. At the upper end into which we look stood the Rostra. The various public buildings are named upon the plate itself. A plate representing the Forum at the present day will be found in Morey, *Roman History*, frontispiece.

PLATE XVIII. TYPICAL ROMAN HEADS.—1. The striking head of Julius Cæsar is that of a man of force and ideas. The high forehead, the prominent cheek-bones, the firm mouth and thin lips reveal the general and the statesman. He is also the typical Roman patrician. The sculptor evidently sought to produce an exact likeness. 2. Cicero is the typical urbane and cultivated Roman of the middle class. His face has a strikingly modern character, being distinctively Roman, perhaps, in its dignity and the traces of sternness. The chin and nose of both these typical Romans are noteworthy. 3. Vespasian's head illustrates exactly that of the Roman peasant, honest, unyielding, practical. Notice the cropped hair, thick neck and decided mouth. 4. Hadrian's head and hair are characteristic of the ruler of the later imperial age. His face is of the western type, yet not Roman. 5. Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, is the typical Roman matron. The features are strong and simple without the ideal grace of the Greek type. Such a woman would naturally accompany her husband on his campaigns. Notice the dressing of the hair. 6. The bust of Commodus represents him as Hercules. The characteristic club is in his hand and the lion's skin on his head. The curling beard and hair, and, indeed, the whole representation, disclose the vain and frivolous weakling. It is a long step from Julius Cæsar to Commodus. The artistic skill of the sculptor is worthy of notice.

PLATE XIX. RELIEF FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS.—The Arch of

Titus commemorated his victory over the Jews and the capture of Jerusalem (§ 447). It stood on the Sacred Way. Unlike the Arch of Constantine (Plate XXIII), it had but one central archway and within the vault of this was the relief of our plate. A group of soldiers lead captives and bear the spoils of the Jewish temple. The golden table of the shewbread and the seven-armed golden candlestick are prominent among them. Laurels crown the heads of the soldiers and they carry Roman military standards. The work is of Pentelic marble, and testifies to the artistic taste and skill of the time.

PLATE XX. EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.—These scenes from the life of Jonah were painted on the walls of a chamber in the Catacombs. They are dated about the beginning of the third century A.D. They are notable not merely for the crudity of their execution, but also for the religious symbolism which they set forth. The experiences of Jonah had a twofold meaning for the Christian: (1) they were types of the death and resurrection of Jesus (Matt. 12:39-49), and (2) they encouraged the persecuted believers to persevere in the trials of the present life and hope for the life to come. The "great fish" is thought to be copied after the dragon that figures in Græco-Roman mythology, for example, in the story of Andromeda, representations of which in the art of the time were not uncommon. The symbolism of this picture is further carried out by the mast and yard of the ship which are arranged to form a cross.

PLATE XXI. ROOM FROM THE HOUSE OF THE VETTI.—The House of the Vetti at Pompeii was unearthed in 1894, and contains some of the best preserved memorials of Pompeian art. This room, one of the two dining-rooms, with its variegated marble work, its paintings and its frescoes, illustrates notably the character of the better Roman house of the time. The subjects of the paintings are taken from Græco-Roman mythology. On the right is Bacchus coming on the sleeping Ariadne. On the left are Dædalus and Pasiphaë. The subject of the painting facing us is the punishment of Ixion. Hermes, who has brought Ixion, is in front, at his feet a veiled figure. To the right is the goddess Hera, and on the left Hephæstus has just fastened Ixion to the wheel. See Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, pp. 333-334.

PLATE XXII. RELIEF FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN.—The Column of Trajan stood in his Forum (Plate XVII). It was 128 feet high and was surmounted by a statue of the emperor twenty feet high. A spiral staircase of 185 steps led to the top. Around the column wound a series of bronze reliefs in twenty-three tiers representing scenes in the Dacian war (§ 468). The reliefs contained 2,500 figures. In the centre of this relief appears Trajan receiving from his soldiers the heads of Dacian spies. To the left a siege is going on, Roman soldiers advancing to the assault under a testudo. Observe carefully the dress and weapons of the soldiers.

PLATE XXIII. TYPICAL ROMAN ARCHITECTURE.—*a.* The highly decorative character of this arch is at once evident. Some of the adornments were taken from other monuments, for example, the four great statues and some reliefs from an arch of Trajan. At the top were originally a chariot and horses, and statues. The arch was built in A.D. 315 to commemorate the victory of Constantine over Maxentius in 312. Its proportions are fine and its adaptations of Greek architecture are instructive. Compare it with the Arch of Titus and consider whether it does not lack dignity in comparison with that. See Seignobos, p. 322.

b. This aqueduct is a remarkable union of simplicity, strength and beauty. Its length is 882 feet, its height 162 feet. The water channel above is covered with large slabs of stone about fourteen feet wide. The character of Roman engineering and architectural work is most fully illustrated by it. It was built for the needs of a Gallic city, the like of which, in size and importance, were to be found scattered all over the Roman Empire. The various features of it will reward study.

PLATE XXIV. CHRIST ENTHRONED.—This fresco stands over one of the doors in the Mosque of St. Sophia in Constantinople, once a Christian church (§ 502). Christ sits on his throne raising his hand in blessing. On either side are Mary, his mother, and Michael, the archangel. Before him lowly kneeling is the emperor in the attitude of a subject. By some this figure is said to be the Emperor Justinian (§ 501). The Greek words signify "Peace be unto you. I am the light of the world." Study both subject and style of execution as characteristic of Byzantine art and the times in which it arose.

GENERAL INDEX

The references are to pages, not sections. Pronunciation is indicated by accenting the proper syllable. A few diacritical marks and abbreviations are employed:—e.g., *f.* indicates “following page”; *ff.*, “following pages”; *n.*, “notes”; a long mark over a letter shows that it is to be pronounced; an italicized letter is silent.

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